CURRENT HISTORY

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APRIL, 1919

LEAGUE OF NATIONS DEBATE

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PEACE CONGRESS DIRECTORY

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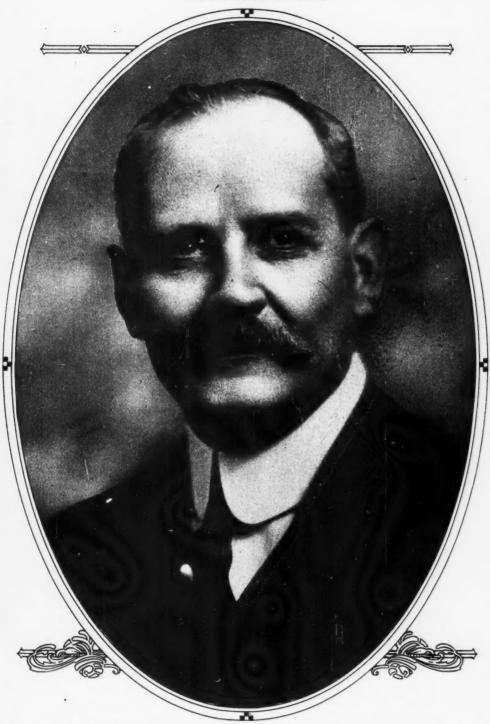
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Nominated Feb. 15, 1919, as Ambassador to France, succeeding William Graves Sharp, resigned

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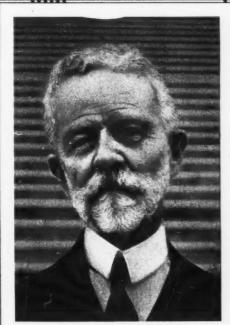
A. MITCHELL PALMER



Appointed United States Attorney General, March 5, 1919, succeeding Thomas W. Gregory, resigned

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SENATORIAL CRITICS OF PEACE LEAGUE DRAFT



Henry Cabot Lodge of
Massachusetts
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Philander C. Knox of Pennsylvania (© Moffat Studio)

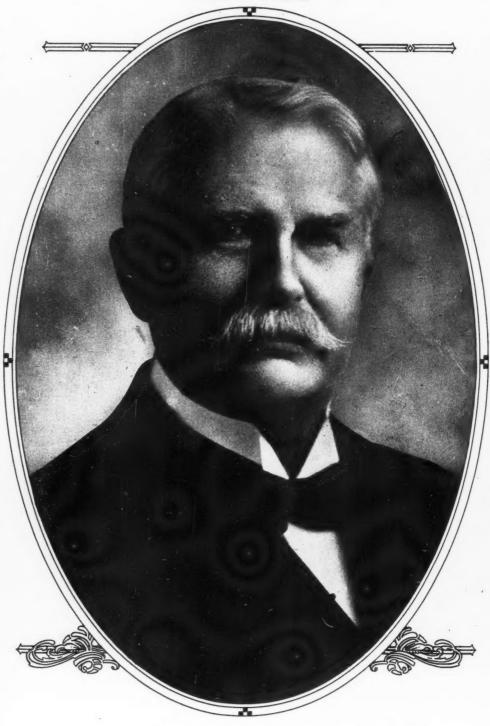


James A. Reed of Missouri
(© Reineke)



Robert L. Owen of Oklahoma

HENRY WHITE



Former Ambassador to France and Italy, and one of the United States delegates to the Peace Congress (© Harris and Ewing)

REORGANIZING AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY



Scene in Budapest, Hungary. The sign reads: "This forenoon we will proclaim Michael Karolyi President of the Hungarian Republic"

(© Underwood and Underwood)



Karl Seitz, President of Austrian National Assembly

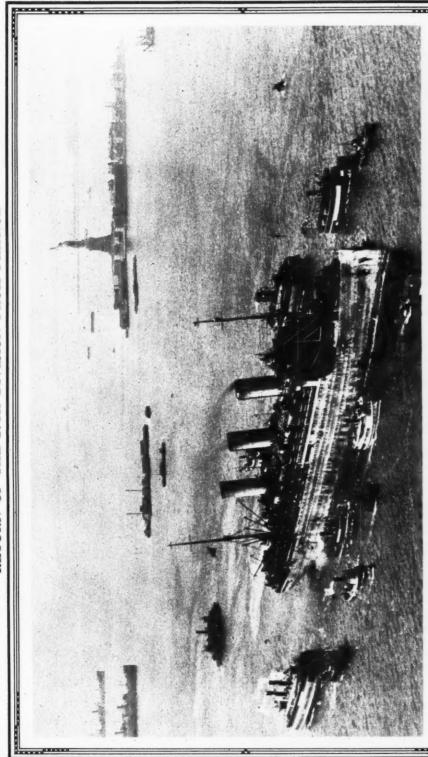


Herr Berinkey, Premier of new Hungarian Republic (© Underwood and Underwood)



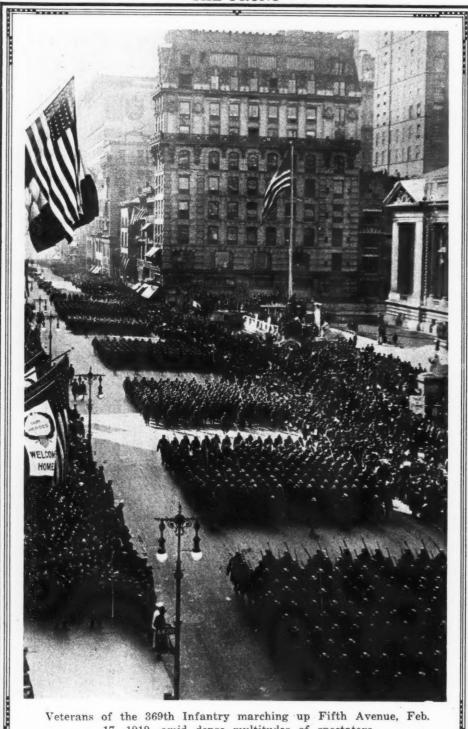
gates Chinda and Makino, Japan; Leon Bourgeois, France; Lord Robert Cecil, England; Signor Orlando, Italy; Dr. Kramarcz, Czechoslovakia; M. Venizelos, Greece. Standing, left to right, are: Delegates Pessoa, Brazil; Yoshida, Japan; Col. House, U. S.; Secretary of the Brazilian Legation; M. Dmowski, Poland; M. Vesnitch, Serbia; Secretary of the Belgian Legation; Gen. Smuts, England; President Wilson; M. Diamadi, Rumania; M. Hymans, Belgium; Major Bonsall, U. S.; Wellington Koo, China; M. Reis, Portugal; M. Scialoja, Italy, and M. Larnaude, Seated, left to right, are: Dele-(© Times Photo) Above is shown the personnel of the commission that framed the league draft. France

RETURN OF THE 27TH DIVISION FROM FRANCE

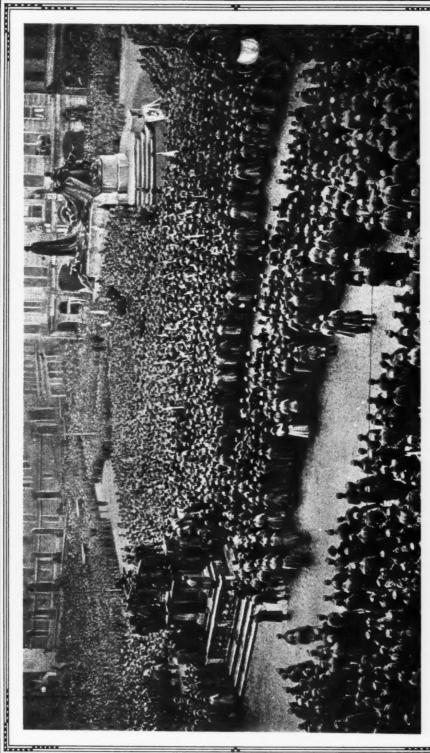


The Leviathan, formerly the German steamship Vaterland, coming into New York Harbor, March 6, 1919, bringing home 10,000 New York soldiers of the 27th Division (© International Film Service)

NEW YORK COLORED TROOPS RETURNING FROM THE FRONT

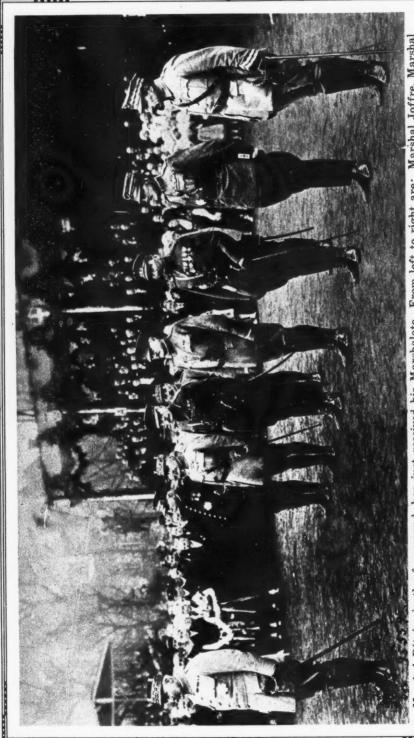


17, 1919, amid dense multitudes of spectators (© Paul Thompson)



Bohemian garrison at Prague taking the oath of allegiance to the new Republic of Czechoslovakia, Nov. 15, 1918

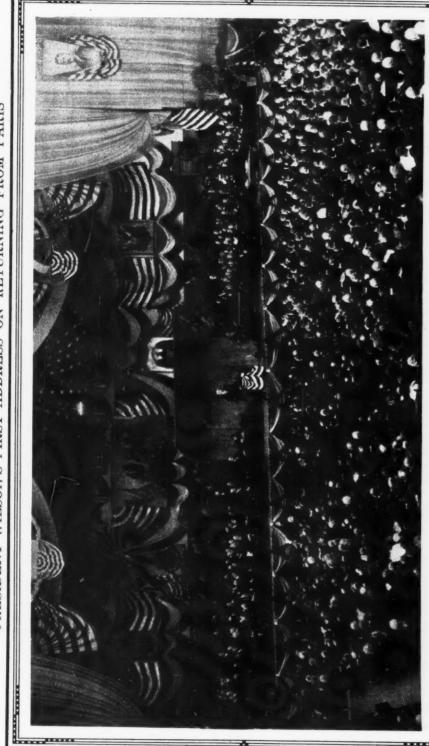
DISTINGUISHED GROUP OF ALLIED MILITARY LEADERS



Marshal Petain, in the foreground, has just received his Marshalate. From left to right are: Marshal Joffre, Marshal Foch, Field Marshal Haig, Gen. Pershing, Gen. Gillain, (Belgian,) Gen. Albricci, (Italian,) and Gen. Haller, (Polish,) Taken at Metz, Dec. 8, 1918

(© Committee on Public Information from Underwood & Underwood)

PRESIDENT WILSON'S FIRST ADDRESS ON RETURNING FROM PARIS



Scene in Mechanics Hall, Boston, Feb. 24, 1919. The President is delivering his speech in behalf of the constitution of the League of Nations (C International Film Service)



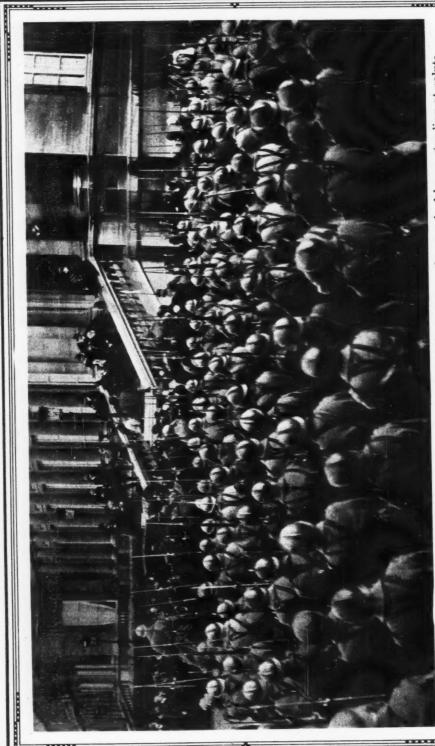
Berlin mothers, wives, and children meet German soldiers returning from the war and wind garlands of flowers about their steel helmets

(D Underwood & Underwood)



Germany's new rulers after the Kaiser's abdication. Seated on platform left to right are Reuss, Scheidemann, Landsberg, Haas, Ebert, (Chancelloft,) and Barth

(© Underwood & Underwood)



The President arriving at the Quai d 'Orsay for a session of the congress, the guard of honor standing at salute



Jubilant demonstrations in Strasbourg, Dec. 9, 1918, to celebrate the visit of President Poincaré and France's recovery of the "lost provinces"

(From a drawing by J. Simont in L'Illustration, Paris)

operations, in which the United the British, laid a of North Sea conjunction with great mine bar-Map of the zone States Navy, in rage to prevent the egress of submarines from their home bases into the Atlantic THE LARGEST MINE AREA, IN HISTORY NORTH SEA SERMA NORTH ANTIC



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THE PEACE CONFERENCE

A Month's Progress at Paris in Shaping the Economic and Military Terms to be Imposed Upon Germany

[PERIOD ENDED MARCH 20, 1919]

HE formulation of the League of Nations covenant was described in the March issue of CURRENT HISTORY. With the League problem temporarily out of the way, the Peace Conference at Paris was able to proceed to the readjustment of the financial and economic relations disrupted by more than four years of war.

The creation of three new organizations was announced on Feb. 15-a Supreme Economic Council, an Economic Drafting Commission, and a Financial Drafting Commission. The first body, which included in its membership some of the ablest financial and i siness minds of America and Europe, was charged with handling such pressing questions as the distribution of shipping, the abatement of the blockade, the distribution of raw materials, and urgent financial matters. The other two commissions were composed of financiers from all the Entente countries. The report of the Economic Commission, dealing with the removal of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all nations associated for the maintenance of peace, was already before the Conference at the date mentioned. The Financial Drafting Commission was dealing with the insistent demand of some European nations for the pooling of all the credit debts and resources of the nations, and had undertaken the task of obtaining information as to the financial resources, p prospective, of the enemy countries, to enable the Commission on Reparation to complete its work.

WAR REPARATION

The question of reparation to be solved by the Conference proved serious. On Feb. 19 the representatives of the allied European powers joined in a statement to President Wilson which embodied their claims that Germany and her partners should be made to pay the entire cost of the war. When the subject had come before the Supreme Council the President had opposed this proposal, taking the ground that it was impossible to pay such a sum, and that the terms of the armistice made reparation collectible only for actual damage done. The Allies contended that this was a wrong interpretation of the armistice conditions, and, in the statement sent, called on President Wilson in effect to settle the question. The American position was that the amount which Germany and her allies were able to pay within ten or fifteen years should be assessed.

By Feb. 26 the subject of war reparation had been sufficiently discussed to develop the fact that there were three theories:

The British view was that as in civil law all damages must be paid by the aggressor, so Germany should be compelled to pay the whole cost of the war, including the expense to the Allies of raising, equipping, transporting, and maintaining their armies as well as reparation for wanton damage.

The French view was that reparation should include all England would demand, but the French, unlike the English, would fix the sequence of payment, requiring Germany first to settle bills for destruction in violation of international law and pay the other bills later if she could.

The American theory was that reparation to be demanded from Germany should cover only such damage as was done by her in wanton destruction and violation of the laws of war and of nations.

Under the American proposal England would be a creditor of Germany on reparation account only to the extent of her merchant shipping losses and damage caused by airplane and Zeppelin raids on English territory. The bills of the United States and British colonies would be confined to such merchant ship losses as were inflicted on them by submarines. So the chief creditors would be Belgium, Serbia, and Rumania, to which countries the bulk of wanton damage was confined.

ATTACK ON CLEMENCEAU

The session of the Conference to be held on Feb. 20 was deferred in consequence of a dramatic attempt upon the life of Premier Clemenceau on Feb. 19, details of which are given elsewhere. M. Clemenceau was stricken at the moment when he was starting for a meeting that was to arrange plans for the transition from war conditions to a state of peace, and to take in hand the construction of the actual peace treaty.

In an effort to speed up the work of making peace, the Supreme Council and various commissions were busily engaged at the session of Feb. 25. Marshal Foch appeared and gave his views concerning the Polish situation. French territorial claims were referred by the council to a special commission. The most interesting feature of these was the contention that France should have permanent control of German territory on the west bank of the Rhine.

One interesting development was the proposal that the German cables cut by the British early in the war should not be returned to Germany. The French and British held that these cables should remain under allied control as a reprisal of war. The American representatives did not assent to this, but the reasons for their position were not made public.

GERMAN WARSHIPS

The question of the disposition of the German warships continued to be one beset with difficulties. Speaking for the British Government, the Earl of Lytton, Parliamentary Secretary of the Admiralty, made an official statement in the House of Lords, in which he declared that the British policy opposed the ships forming any part of the armament of the world. The alternative of sinking

was a question for the Peace Conference to decide.

In an Associated Press dispatch of Feb. 24, it was said that, though the Supreme Council had not discussed the disposition of surrendered German warships, the naval experts of the council had studied the subject, and that the British and American officers had agreed that the proper solution of the question would be to sink the ships in deep water; the French and Italian officers, however, did not share this view.

The French attitude was stated by Stephane Lauzanne in the Matin on Feb. 27. The French delegation to the Peace Conference, he said, would energetically oppose the general sinking of the German fleet; France was firmly determined to take the share of these ships that would fall to her. She had lost 15 per cent, of her naval tonnage, and had come out of the war with a weakened navy; she needed a navy to police the seas and protect her colonial empire, the second largest in the world. The article pointed to the new naval program drawn up by the United States, one of the most pacific nations in the world.

ARGUMENTS FOR DESTRUCTION

President Wilson on March 15 took up the subject of the destruction of the warships surrendered by Germany. Although an adverse judgment had been attributed to him, this was the first time he had examined the matter, and he called for data from American naval experts. It was understood that his advisers in Paris favored the policy of destruction.

In addition to destroyers and submarines, there were involved twenty-one German and Austrian battleships, six battle cruisers, and nineteen light cruisers. The arguments brought to bear for their destruction may be summed up as follows:

1. In the face of the covenant committal to decreased armament, distribution would make an immediate increase of 30 per cent. in allied European armaments.

2. As matters stand the American ability to put through a building program creates the possibility of inducing Great Britain to join her in the alternative of scaling down to the lowest point the number of ships consistent with self-protection and maintaining the League, whereas distribution will make new standards to be built up to.

3. Distribution will vastly and unnecessarily increase the burden of taxation.

4. World interests would be subserved by no one power controlling the seas against all comers.

5. The morale of the world requires a dramatic heralding of better days. Distribution is a step in the opposite direction.

6. Destruction preserves entire our moral position with respect to Germany.

7. American interests compel the acceptance of a joint naval burden with Great Britain. Distribution will make that burden too great for America to carry.

8. Finally if the German fleet is thrown among the Allies to be contended for as a prize, it will prove a veritable apple of discord that may make its surrender profit Germany more than if she had risked her ships in a final battle. The division of naval spoils would be a negation of the principle of co-operation which is the foundation stone of the League.

ARMENIA'S CLAIMS

At the meeting of the Supreme Council on Feb. 26 the claims of Armenia were presented. These claims embodied the following proposals:

First—Liberation from the Turkish yoke. Second—Formation of a new Armenian State to be made up of the six Armenian provinces of Turkey and the territories of the Armenian Republic in the Caucasus, and also the Port of Alexandretta, which is claimed by Syria.

Third—Protection for twenty years by a great power under a mandate from the League of Nations.

The Conference Commission to examine into the problems of the new nation of Czechoslovakia held its first meeting on Feb. 27, and completed the study of the question of Germans in Bohemia, after which it took up the question of Silesia. The commission organized by electing Jules Cambon as President.

CLEMENCEAU RETURNS

The meeting of the Conference on Feb. 27 was attended by Premier Clemenceau; this was the first time he had met the Conference since the attempt upon his life a week before. At this meeting, on motion of the American delegates, it was decided to organize a central commission for territorial questions.

Afterward the Zionist case was presented by Dr. Weismann and M. Sokolow, representing the Zionist organization; Professor Sylvain Levi of the College of France, and a member of the Palestine Committee; M. André Spire, representing the French Zionist organization, and Mr. Szsyahkin, representing the Jews of Russia.

The Zionist claims varied. The minimum comprised establishment of Zionist communities in Palestine and the guarantee of special rights and sovereignty for these communities. The maximum claims called for the erection of a Jewish State in order that the Jews might have a national home where they could live in peace.

FINANCIAL PROBLEMS

The Supreme Council began consideration of financial and economic problems, both as affecting the treaty of peace and the permanent conditions after the war, at the session of March 1. This farreaching subject was taken up after weeks given to hearings on territorial questions.

Financial and economic subjects were presented to the council in two reports, one from the Financial Commission, of which Louis Klotz, French Minister of Finance, is Chairman, and Albert Strauss and Norman Davis are the American members, and the other from the Economic Commission, of which Albert Clementel of France is Chairman, and Bernard M. Baruch, Vance McCormick, and Dr. A. A. Davis are the American members.

The report of the Financial Commission was a brief document, giving the main headings of the vast financial reorganization required. The report did not cover reparations and indemnities for the war, which had been the theme of a separate commission. Most of the headings were presented without recommendations, which were left to the council and the plenary conference, since the problem as a whole had been presented.

One of the main headings concerned war debts and debts made before the war in enemy countries, and whether they were to be paid or repudiated, the manner of payment, if paid, and the priority of payment. Another heading dealt with State property in territory taken over, such as State mines and State railways.

ECONOMIC ISSUES

The economic report presented to the council was similarly comprehensive, covering the vast economic readjustment following the war.

It proposed an extensive inquiry with respect to raw materials, their surplus and shortage in various countries, with a view to stabilizing exports and imports according to the world's needs.

The most important subject mentioned related to equality of trade opportunities. This did not affect tariffs or customs among the nations, but sought to end trade discrimination, unjust State monopolies, dumping methods, and favored nation treatment.

To expedite the work of the Peace Conference in defining the approximate future frontiers of enemy countries, the Supreme Council decided to appoint a committee, comprising one member each from the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan, to outline the frontiers on the basis of the recommendation of the territorial commissions already appointed or still to be created and submit the delimitations to the Conference.

MILITARY TERMS

Marshal Foch presented on March 1 to the council of the great powers the military terms to be incorporated in the peace treaty.

The military terms provided for the destruction of all German submarines, forbade the use of submarines hereafter by any nation, ordered the destruction of the German main fleet, directed the reduction of the German Army to fifteen infantry and five cavalry divisions, (about 200,000 men,) called for the retention of the German cables by the Allies, and compelled the destruction of the fortifications of Heligoland and the Kiel Canal.

Severe restrictions were placed on the manufacture of all classes of war materials and the military and commercial use of the airplane was limited to the minimum.

The naval terms already before the council provided not only for the complete suppression of Germany's submarine equipment, but also for the termination of all submarine warfare by all nations throughout the world, thus ending the use of the submarine in naval warfare.

The provision for dismantling the fortifications of Heligoland and the Kiel Canal was made the subject of reservation by Admiral Benson, representing the United States; he held that this should not be a precedent applicable to American canal and harbor defenses, such as Hell Gate, Cape Cod Canal, and others.

AMOUNT OF REPARATION

The Supreme Council of the great powers considered on March 3 the military, naval, and aerial terms for the disarmament of the enemy. The main new point was that enemy airplane restrictions would be rigid.

The Conference Committee on Reparation estimated \$120,000,000,000 as the amount which the enemy countries ought to pay the allied and associated powers.

France, the statement added, demanded immediate payment by the enemy of \$5,000,000,000, part in gold, part in materials, and part in foreign securities, recommending that the remainder be payable in twenty-five to thirty-five years.

The question of indemnities continued for many days to be one of the most troublesome before the Conference. The chief issue was not what Germany should pay, but what she could pay. It was stated on March 20 that Messrs. Wilson, Clemenceau, and Lloyd George had been holding a series of meetings on the subject, and that the commissions which had studied the situation in Germany had gradually reduced the allied claims to a total of \$40,000,000,000.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR CODE

The main proposals of the British draft, adopted with minor alterations by the International Legislation Commission

in Paris as the new international charter of labor, were published on March 4 as follows:

The provisions of this draft forbid the employment of children under 15 years of age in industrial occupations, and of children between 15 and 18 for more than six hours daily. At least two hours each day must be devoted by these young workers to technical or regular educational classes. and they will not be permitted to work at night or on Sundays or holidays.

A Saturday half holiday will be introduced into all countries, and workers must have a continuous weekly rest of at least thirty-six hours, while the hours of work shall not exceed eight daily or forty-eight weekly, and shall be even fewer than this

in dangerous trades.

Women shall not be employed at night, and employers shall not give women work to do at home after their regular day's work. Women shall not be employed in especially dangerous trades, which it is impossible to make healthy, nor in mining, above or below ground. Women shall not be allowed to work for four weeks before and six weeks after childbirth.

In every country a system of maternity insurance shall be introduced, providing for compensation at least equal to sickness insurance benefit payable in the country concerned.

Women shall receive the same pay as men for the same work.

The use of poisonous materials shall be prohibited in all cases where it is possible to procure substitutes for them.

Workers shall have the right of free combination and association in all countries. A system of unemployment insurance shall be set up in every country. All workers shall be insured by the State against industrial accidents.

A special code of laws for the protection of seamen shall be established.

Regarding immigration, which shall not be prohibited in a general way, the charter, according to the correspondent, recognizes the right of any State to restrict immigration temporarily in a period of economic depression or for the protection of public health, and recognizes the right of a State to require a certain standard of education from immigrants.

The final reading of the British draft convention for the establishment of a permanent organization for international labor legislation was completed, and the draft convention as amended adopted by the commission for submission to the Peace Conference on March 19.

The American contention that each country should settle its internal labor problems without invoking the power of the League of Nations prevailed.

MONTENEGRO'S CLAIMS

The council of the great powers on March 5 heard the case of King Nicholas of Montenegro, which was presented by General Grosdenovich, the Montenegrin Minister at Washington. It was a protest by the venerable monarch against losing his throne and having his country absorbed by the new Jugoslav State.

Incidentally the protest involved the issue between Italy and Jugoslavia. King Nicholas is the father of the Queen of Italy, so that Montenegro's position had not been clearly defined on the issue between Italy and the proposed new State, which seeks to embrace Montenegro.

The council also considered food relief for Bohemia and other sections of Southeastern Europe, to which the warring factions still made it difficult to forward supplies.

TERRITORIAL QUESTIONS

The Central Commission on Territorial Questions at its first meeting on March 5 elected Captain André Tardieu of the French peace delegation President. The task of the commission was to co-ordinate all decisions of the special territorial commissions.

In particular it was to fix the lines between the different frontiers traced by the various commissions. It also would discuss questions not reserved for special consideration by the Council of Ten.

The Peace Conference Commission dealing with the Belgian-Dutch boundary issue decided to bring the principals to the dispute directly together to adjust by mutual agreement the questions that have arisen.

The commission held that the Peace Conference had no jurisdiction in this issue and no authority to dispose of the territory of neutral States.

The Interallied Commission on Ports, Waterways, and Railways on March 5 had, according to an official statement issued, considered the draft of the convention for the international control of rivers as submitted by a sub-committee.

After discussion the articles dealing

with the method of applying the principles were agreed upon and referred to the Editing Committee.

TARIFF ADJUSTMENTS

It was announced at Washington on March 5 that President Wilson had directed Dr. F. W. Taussig, Chairman of the United States Tariff Commission, to proceed to Paris at once to take part in the readjustment of commercial treaties and similar problems now under consideration at Paris. Bernard M. Baruch, who was Chairman of the War Industries Board, then in Paris with Chairman McCormick of the War Trade Board, asked that Dr. Taussig be sent to Paris, and President Wilson directed that he go. Dr. Taussig sailed from New York on the transport Great Northern.

[The Tariff Commission was authorized by Congress to investigate the tariff relations between the United States and foreign countries, commercial treaties, preferential provisions, economic alliances, and the effect of export bounties and preferential transportation rates. For two years it has been making a study of commercial treaties, reciprocity, preferential arrangements, bargaining tariffs, and colonial tariff systems in detail, and has already sent a very large mass of material to Paris for use by the American Peace Commission.]

MILITARY TERMS IMPOSED

On motion of the United States, made March 6, the provision for neutralization of the Kiel Canal was referred to the Waterways Commission. The United States reserved the right to object to a provision for the destruction of existing submarines and the restriction of their future use.

Mr. Lloyd George pointed out that the armistice with Germany had political as well as military consequences, and insisted on strengthening the terms drafted by the military experts in regard to the German Navy.

At the session of the Supreme Council held on March 7 Premier Lloyd George made an address in regard to the military terms of the preliminary peace with Germany. He brought forward a proposal for reducing the German Army

much below the 200,000 men previously proposed. This was tentatively approved, although all the military terms were still subject to revision.

Information was given as to the interruption of the negotiations at Spa regarding the surrender of the German merchant fleet, and Mr. Lansing submitted a proposal of legal arbitration in regard to the German cables.

Premier Lloyd George, Premier Clemenceau, and Colonel E. M. House conferred March 7 in an effort to iron out the differences of the three nations over military, naval, and economic questions connected with the preliminary peace terms. Army and navy experts of the several countries, it was said, had been unable to agree on the terms.

Finally, on March 10, the Supreme Council agreed on the following terms to be imposed on Germany:

An army limited in size to 100,000 men and 4,000 officers.

The Imperial General Staff abolished.

No conscription. Instead, there will be a twelve-year enlistment method which will prevent her accumulating a large reservoir of men who have been trained previously. There was reason to believe that this anticonscription precedent will guide the conference and the League of Nations later in their deliberations for world peace.

All Rhine forts to be destroyed.

The output of all munitions factories drastically limited.

All remaining military equipment to be surrendered to the Allies or destroyed.

The United States, Great Britain, France, and Italy were said to be in perfect accord with regard to practically all the clauses of the treaty—military, naval, territorial, and economical—and the speed at which this agreement was reached has surprised even the most optimistic.

REVISING BELGIUM'S STATUS

The report of the commission on Belgian affairs, charged with investigation of the differences between Belgium and Holland, was submitted to the Supreme Council on March 7. It advised that the three treaties of 1839, establishing the status of Belgium and Holland, be revised by the council, as they are now "useless and disadvantageous to Belgium."

The three treaties were identical, except as to the signatories. Belgium and Holland signed one, and Holland and Belgium each signed one with Great Britain, France, Austria, Russia, and Prussia. Three of these powers have disappeared and the treaties have become "scraps of paper," which Germany violated by invading Belgium.

The proposed revision of the treaties would restore Belgium's complete sovereignty and eliminate her neutrality, which afforded no protection and is now distasteful. It was said that Holland would be summoned before "the Big Five" soon to discuss the revision of the treaties.

The United States informed the Allies on March 7 that we would be satisfied with the amounts collected by the Alien Property Custodian and would not ask for further reparation from Germany or Austria.

American experts were in England helping the other allies to determine how much the Central Powers were able to pay. Estimates varied from \$25,000,000,000 to \$50,000,000,000, with a tendency to settle on an amount somewhere between the two figures.

Our experts figured that the four Central Powers had between \$4,000,000,000 and \$5,000,000,000 of assets which they would be able to furnish to the victorious nations within two years.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S ARRIVAL

The complete military, naval, and aerial terms of the peace treaty were wirelessed on March 7 to President Wilson at sea, by the American military and naval advisers, with notations and reservations.

The French Government sent a special train to Brest to meet the Presidential party, which arrived on March 14. On it were several Cabinet officers, Foreign Minister Pichon, Minister of Marine Leygues, Captain André Tardieu of the French peace delegation, and others. Colonel Edward M. House and a number of members of the delegation were also on board the train.

Premier Clemenceau, as President of the Peace Conference, sent a letter March 10 to the head of the Interallied Commission at Trieste advising him that the Military Commission appointed by the Supreme Council to investigate the Italo-Jugoslav incidents, which had caused acute feeling between the two peoples, would proceed at once to Laibach.

The Supreme Council considered communications from the Armistice Commission regarding the situation in Poland on March 11. At the request of the Czechoslovak Republic concerning German, Austrian, and Hungarian intrigues against the new State the council considered the reports and decided to investigate them as soon as documentary evidence is received.

The council decided that the question of the Turkish boundaries should not be passed upon by the Boundaries Commission, but should be acted upon by the Supreme Council.

WOULD INTERNATIONALIZE RHINE

Recommendation that the navigation of the Rhine be opened to all nations without discrimination was made in a report to the Peace Conference March 12 by the Commission on the International Control of Waterways, Railways, and Ports. It was suggested that the Rhine be controlled by a commission similar to the Danube ommission.

The status of the Kiel Canal was settled by the commission on the basis of freedom of use for all nations for merchant vessels or warships in time of peace. If this plan should be adopted, the canal would continue under German ownership and operation. The question of the fortification of the canal was left by the commission to the decision of military and naval experts.

The report of the commission was not favorable to allowing the Belgian claim that special duties be imposed on German vessels.

It further recommended that a general conference be held within a year to deal with all questions pertaining to the navigation of international waterways which should be regarded as too intricate or complex to be settled finally within the limited life of the Peace Conference.

The Commission on Reparation March

12 began examination of the principles of the joint liability to be established among enemy States indebted to the allied and associated powers. The representatives of Italy, Serbia, Rumania, and Poland explained the views of their Governments on the subject.

GERMANY'S DELEGATES

A Weimar dispatch dated March 12 announced that the German delegates to the Peace Conference would be Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau, the Foreign Minister; Dr. Eduard David, Majority Socialist, and first President of the National Assembly; Max Warburg; Dr. Adolph Müller, Minister to Switzerland; Professor Walther M. A. Schücking of Marburg University, and Herr Geisberg, Minister of Posts and Telegraph in the Prussian Ministry.

Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau acted as Foreign Minister after the resignation of Dr. Solf.

Dr. David is a member of the German Ministry without portfolio.

Max Warburg was a business man of Hamburg and has been an official of the Hamburg-American Steamship Line.

Dr. Müller was formerly director of the Electric Accumulator Works at Berlin and in July, 1915, received an honorary degree from the University of Hanover for his work in developing the efficiency of German submarines.

Professor Schücking late in 1914 published a letter, blaming Russia for the European war.

AERIAL TERMS

The aerial terms of German disarmament, as adopted by the Supreme War Council on March 12, provide that airplanes and dirigibles should no longer be used for military purposes. The only exception was that Germany would be permitted to use until Oct. 1 100 seaplanes and 1,000 men to gather mines in the North Sea.

Germany must deliver all her airplanes to the Allies, and must prohibit the construction of other airplanes until the conclusion of peace. The terms did not decide the future fate of the airplanes, which might be destroyed or divided among the Allies.

The British and American delegates brought up the question of a distinction between military and commercial aerial navigation. The council concluded that it was not feasible to ban airplanes for commercial uses, which would be allowed in Germany after the conclusion of peace under certain guarantees. The Drafting Committee was directed to make clear the distinction excepting commercial airplanes in the terms incorporated in the peace terms.

The council decided to send an aeronautic commission to Germany to investigate the question of commercial aerial navigation. Deputy Aubigny of the French Chamber was appointed Chairman.

In a report submitted on March 18 the commission appointed to consider plans for an international air code announced that the British proposals had been, in the main, accepted. The proposals accepted may be summed up as follows: Each nation was entitled to sovereignty over the air above it, subject to the granting of permission for the passage of foreign aviators. There was to be no discrimination against any nation by another. Air pilots were to be licensed on an international basis. International rules were to govern the right of way for airplanes and airships.

DRAFT OF MILITARY AND NAVAL TERMS ADOPTED

The Supreme War Council resumed its sessions on March 17 with President Wilson in attendance for the first time since he returned from the United States. Marshal Foch, Field Marshal Haig, General Diaz, and British, French, and American Admirals, as well as Premiers and Foreign Ministers of the five great powers with experts, bringing war maps and a draft of the military, naval, and aerial articles of the peace treaty, were present. This draft the council considered and adopted in the main, though several details remained open. President Wilson agreed to all features of the terms which Secretary Lansing and Colonel House had accepted at previous sessions. These included the plan for reducing Germany's army to 100,000 men, recruited by the volunteer system, and a limitation on arms, munitions, and other war stores.

The Supreme Council appointed a commission on aeronautics, of which American members were to be Rear Admiral Harry S. Knapp and Brig. Gen. Mason M. Patrick. The council named Belgium, Greece, Portugal, Brazil, Cuba, and Rumania to represent the small nations.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

There were daily sessions of the Committee on the League of Nations, beginning March 18. President Wilson said that the decision reached by the Peace Conference at its plenary session of Jan. 25 to the effect that the establishment of a League of Nations should be made an integral part of the treaty of peace, was of final force, and that there was no basis for the reports that a change in this decision was contemplated.

The resolution adopted at that time by the Conference was as follows:

First—It is essential to the maintenance of the world settlement, which the associated nations are now met to establish, that a League of Nations be created to promote international co-operation, to insure the fulfillment of accepted international obligations, and to provide safeguards against war.

Second—This League should be treated as an integral part of the general Treaty of Peace and should be open to every civilized nation which can be relied upon to promote its objects.

Third—The members of the League should periodically meet in international conference and should have a permanent organization and Secretariat to carry on the business of the League in the intervals between conferences.

An invitation was sent out by the Peace Conference to all the neutral nations in Europe, Asia, and South America, asking them to attend a private and unofficial conference in Paris on Thursday, March 20, with the object of giving neutrals an opportunity to express their

views on the League of Nations. The invitation was sent by the Conference authorities to the Ministers of the neutral powers in Paris, who forwarded it to their Governments. There was a prompt response, and long before the 20th the neutral delegates had begun arriving in Paris.

The first meeting was held at the Hotel de Crillon, the American headquarters, in the same room where the League covenant had been framed. Lord Robert Cecil of Great Britain was Chairman and Premier Venizelos of Greece. Dr. M. R. Vesnitch of Serbia, Paul Hymans of Belgium, Colonel E. M. House of the United States, and Leon Bourgeois of France sat as members of the sub-commission. Thirteen neutral nowers were represented by Ambassadors, Ministers, and delegates, with retinues of military and civilian attachés. The nations directly represented were Norway. Persia, Salvador, Switzerland, Argentina, Spain, Holland, Denmark, and Sweden.

Switzerland offered the largest number of amendments, being largely changes in phraseology. The Spanish delegate, Manuel G. Hontorio, personal friend of King Alfonso, also took an active part in the discussion. The Argentine Minister reserved action until instructions were received from his Government.

A Swiss amendment concerning the Monroe Doctrine was offered in writing. It was favorably regarded in American quarters as expressing adherence to the doctrine in such form as might prove acceptable and at the same time sefeguard national sovereignty. Other amendments suggested urged an increase in the number of small nations admitted to the executive control of the League, the reduction of armaments, and the control of munition manufacturers.



Who's Who in the Peace Conference

Brief Biographies of the Delegates Who Are Shaping the Treaty of Peace at Paris

HE following portrait catalogue of the delegates taking part in the Interallied Conference in Paris, with the summaries of their careers and public services, is based on materials gathered by The London Times, and the editorial judgments expressed are those of that journal:

FRANCE

M. CLEMENCEAU-Georges Clemenceau,

"Grand Young the Man of Europe," was elected, from no mere deference to diplomatic custom, to the permanent Presidency of the Peace Conference. The world could, indeed, have sought far and wide without finding a man more suited by his firmness of character and by his very long experience to direct the peace debates.



Born in La Vendée seventy-seven years ago, his career was as varied as his political principles were consistent. He studied medicine, but while still a student he was drawn into the fiery enthusiasms of the young Republican movement against the Second Empire and was, indeed, sentenced to two months' imprisonment for the too free expression of his ardor for a republic. left Paris a few years before the war of 1870 and went in search of fortune to America. There he earned a living as a journalist and as a teacher in a seminary for young ladies. He returned to Europe on the eve of the Franco-Prussian War. He took part in the fateful proceedings of the National Assembly at Bordeaux, and is the only signatory still living of the protest of the Deputies of Alsace-Lorraine against the wrong done to France in the conditions of the Frankfurt Treaty.

M. Clemenceau was first returned to the Chamber of Deputies in 1876, and sat there without a break until 1893. He has much of the Jacobin austerity and the Jacobin hatred of compromise. When he first entered the normal political life of the country he found that many of the men with whom he had fought for the establishment of a real republic had grown stale and sedate, and he refused to have any dealings with the opportunism which turned the French

Republic from a really frank social redicalism into a great machine for contenting the bourgeoisie. This was what made him a critic and a destroying force for the greater part of his life. The ferocity of his attacks upon Ministers, the ruthlessness with which he fought on one side or the other during Presidential elections, the splendid vigor of his journalistic campaigns led to his being called the "Warwick of France," or "the Tiger."

The skill and success with which M. Clemenceau fought Boulangism, just before the Panama scandal, earned him the enmity of the whole Nationalist movement connected with the name of Déroulède. This enmity, combined with the opposition created among radicals by his onslaught upon their timid opportunism, drove him for some ten years from the Chamber, and had to seek in increased activity as a journalist full expression for his views. In many ways M. Clemenceau is the greatest journalist France has produced in the last hundred years.

His long period of exile from Parliament only served to increase his real power in influencing the policies of France. He fought the cause of Dreyfus in the press with astounding clearness and precision. His action in this, as well as in other upheavals and scandals of those days, made it almost impossible for him to maintain his purely critical and negative attitude. He was again returned to the Chamber in 1902, and became Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior in 1906. His Government lasted until 1909.

During the war M. Clemenceau has been an unsparing critic of administrative delay and a firm advocate of getting on with the war to the exclusion of everything else. The failure of successive Governments to deal firmly and radically with the material problems of supply, and to break away from the old peace-time traditions of the "République des Camarades." was bound eventually to result in a national demand for the presence of a really strong man at the head of affairs. In the Summer of 1917 M. Clemenceau burst the Bolo bubble in the Senate, and from that day on, in spite of all the efforts of lobby politicians, his advent to power could not be He succeeded M. Painlevé as prevented. Prime Minister in November, 1917, when the situation, in spite of the promise of American support, was extremely black.

The new Prime Minister set to work with characteristic energy, and before he had been in power four or five months, the flagging war spirit of France had been revived.

M. Clemenceau's opponents, who are mostly to be found on the extreme Left, among the more or less Bolshevized element of the French political world, accuse him of being reactionary and unable to comprehend the new aspirations of humanity. He fought for these same aspirations fifty years ago, and it is safe to say that no one in the whole world is more desirous than M. Clemenceau to see the birth of a League of Nations which shall put into practice the ideas that have dominated all his policy. But nothing can induce him to accept any settlement of Europe which does not give to France full security against aggression.

M. PICHON-Stephen Pichon, who was

born in 1857, has been a friend of M. Clemenceau since 1878, and has been associated with him in most of his journalistic enterprises. As a diplomatist he has had a wide experience, which started at Port au Prince and led him through South America to Peking, where he was French Minister during the siege of



the legations. As Foreign Minister—a portfolio which he has held in many different Ministries—he has accompanied the Chief of the State to Petrograd and London, where he has made several official visits. He is not now very definitely associated with any political party, but he was one of those who always supported the Radical element in the days before and during the "Bloc."

M. TARDIEU-André Tardieu is the Ben-

jamin of the Peace Conference. He was a student of the Ecole Normale, from which he passed out first in his year. He has all the efficiency which can be derived from French logic. At the outset of his career he entered diplomacy, but to so young a man it did not provide sufficient scope, and he found his op-



portunity in journalism, when he became foreign editor of the Temps, whose "Bulletins du Jour," dealing with foreign affairs, are read throughout the world.

M. Tardieu entered politics in the general election which preceded the outbreak of war, and has yet to show the extent of his Parliamentary ability. In August, 1914, he became the Chief Censor, a post which he soon left for active serving in the field. A severe attack of pneumonia, due to exposure in the trenches, made his further service at the front impossible, and he was appointed

to represent France in the United States, and empowered to deal there with the many Franco-American questions connected with the war. He returned to France shortly after the formation of the Clemenceau Ministry, and, but for a brief but important visit to America, has since remained in Paris as High Commissioner for all matters concerning France and the United States.

M. KLOTZ-Louis Lucien Klotz, Minister



of Finance, born at Paris in 1868, left a rapidly growing practice at the Bar to enter politics as a rising young man, and with an earnestness of purpose rarely found among French politicians he devoted himself to the study of the more arid business of national life. He specialized in customs matters and in big

contractual relations between the State and the railways of France, and gradually he qualified as an authority on larger questions of finance. He has been Minister of Finance in seven Governments. For many years there were only two alternative holders of this portfolio—M. Caillaux and M. Klotz.

M. CAMBON-Jules Cambon has, with his



cambon has, with his brother Paul, the French Ambassador in London, for many years formed the keystone of French diplomacy. His early experience was gained in South America, and his last post was at the head of the embassy in Berlin. There, for many years, he watched growing up around him the huge machine of war which

Germany set in motion in August, 1914. He not only watched—he reported; and seldom in the world's history have the published dispatches of an Ambassador more clearly shown the purpose of the Court and people to which he was accredited.

It was not until the reconstruction of M. Briand's first War Cabinet that M. Cambon's services were again officially called upon. He was then appointed General Secretary to the Foreign Office. Since then he has been charged with many important tasks. He has been the adviser of the French Foreign Office on questions concerning Franco-American relations, as well as on matters dealing with Alsace-Lorraine. M. Cambon is the only prominent diplomatist among the French delegates.

M. BOURGEOIS-Léon Bourgeois, one of the elder statesmen of France, was born in Paris in 1851. He is a barrister by profession and a Radical by conviction. conciliatory disposition, no less than the bent of his mind, has led him to become a specialist in all questions of international or inter-party arbitration or compromise. He entered political life in 1888, defeating Boulanger by an enormous majority, and since that time until a few years ago he has always been one of the men to whom Presidents in search of a Cabinet turned in moments of crisis. In the grave situation which arose after the attempt on President Loubet's life he used his political prestige and his powers of managing men, and succeeded in forming a Ministry when all others had failed.

His greatest claim to represent France on the committee appointed to deal with the problem of the League of Nations is to be found in his long service in connection with the building up of the now rusty machinery of The Hague. M. Bourgeois was placed by the French Government many months ago at the head of a Foreign Office Committee to deal with the League of Nations. His experience at The Hague should stand him in good stead, but perhaps an even more important qualification which he possesses is his intimate knowledge of social conditions both in France and abroad.

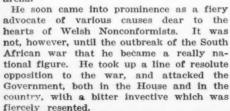
GREAT BRITAIN

DAVID LLOYD GEORGE-There is no

more dramatic chapter in our political annals than the career of the "little Welsh attorney" who became Prime Minister at the height of the greatest storm which ever broke over the British Empire.

Strife seemed to be woven into the very stuff of his being. He was only 27 years old when in 1890 he fought

a fierce by-election at Carnarvon Boroughs. It was at that time a Conservative seat, but the young Liberal succeeded in capturing it by the narrow margin of 18 votes. In the House of Commons he found his natural



Up to 1905 Mr. Lloyd George had been no

more than a fearless debater, a destructive critic, and an impassioned orator. But at the end of that year Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, summoned to form a Government, gave him his first chance of constructive statesmanship by appointing him President of the Board of Trade, without the customary period of apprenticeship in one of the minor offices of State. He brilliantly justified the choice of his chief, and when Mr. Asquith became Prime Minister in 1908 Mr. Lloyd George succeeded him as Chancellor of the Exchequer, with the enthusiastic approval of his party. He revived the waning fortunes of the Liberals by a budget based on such novel principles of taxation that the House of Lords rejected it. The general election which immediately followed was a triumph primarily for Mr. Lloyd George, and he made his budget secure. His next big essay, the National Insurance act, was not so popular.

Mr. Lloyd George had been Chancellor of the Exchequer over six years when the European war cloud suddenly burst. By general consent, the prompt measures which he took at the Treasury enabled the fabric of British credit to stand the unexpected shock successfully. When early in 1915 it was found that the supply of munitions was utterly inadequate, he threw all his energies into the task of retrieving the position. Next year, when his pioneer work as Minister of Munitions had been accomplished, he succeeded Lord Kitchener as Secretary of State for War.

At the end of 1916, however, he became so dissatisfied with the conduct of the war that he sent in his resignation. Mr. Asquith left office, and Mr. Lloyd George became Prime Minister at the darkest hour of England's fortunes. He infused new vigor into the gigantic effort of the empire, and established that unity of command which contributed as much as any factor to the final triumph of allied arms. And when hostilities ceased and a general election was held the statesman who had weathered the storm was confirmed in power by the most overwhelming vote of confidence in British history.

MR. BARNES—Labor has had no more fearless and hardworking servant than Mr. Barnes. He first came into prominence as General Secretary of the A. S. E. during the stormy days of the great lockout in 1807.

He entered Parliament for Glasgow in 1906 by defeating Mr. Bonar Law, his present colleague in the War Cabinet. He soon won the respect of the House of Commons by his unmistakable integrity and its interest by his wide knowledge of labor conditions and his native shrewdness in speech and counsel. In successive Parliaments he was one of the acknowledged leaders of the Labor Party, and there was some surprise when he was not included among the Labor Ministers who joined the first Coalition Government in 1915.

His support of the national cause had been whole-hearted from the beginning, and Mr. Lloyd George appointed him first Minister of Pensions when he formed the second Coalition Government with an increased representation of labor. Upon Mr. Henderson's engaging in the Stockholm affair, Mr. Barnes took his place as member of the War Cabinet without portfolio. For nearly two years he has represented labor in the highest council of the State. The emphatic indorsement of his attitude by a great working-class constituency in Glasgow at the general election has afforded him the opportunity of completing his task at the Peace Conference.

Mr. Barnes is in his seventieth year.

ANDREW J. BALFOUR-For over a quar-

ter of a century Mr. Balfour has been one of the most distinguished figures in English public life. In 1878 he went to the Congress of Berlin as private Secretary to his uncle, Lord Salisbury. Today he is representing his country as Foreign Secretary, at the age of 70 years, at the even more momentous Conference in Paris.



He entered the House of Commons in 1874, and his great chance came in 1887, when he was appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland when the passions excited by the rejection of the first Home Rule bill were at their height. Mr. Balfour was responsible for four years of resolute Government, which have never been forgotten.

In 1891 Mr. Balfour became leader of the House of Commons, and, after a short interval in Opposition, he was again called to the chief place on the Treasury Bench. For ten stormy years, which included the period of the South African war, his personal ascendency over the House was unquestioned. When he was called to the Premiership on the retirement of Lord Salisbury in 1902 troubles began to thicken around him. It required all his management and skill to keep his party together during the tariff reform agitation, but he held on his course for over three years before cutting the knot by resignation.

During the long period of Liberal rule which followed, Mr. Balfour acted for a time as leader of the Opposition, but eventually handed over the reins to Mr. Bonar Law. His active political career seemed to have come to an end. But in the unexampled emergency created by the war he returned to office as First Lord of the Admiralty in Mr. Asquith's Coalition Government, and exercised a steadying influence over one of the

most vital of the War Departments at a very critical period. On the formation of the second Coalition Government, Mr. Balfour became Foreign Secretary. His mission to America and his speeches and dispatches on the many difficult and delicate problems which arose for solution during the closing phases of the war have earned for him a distinguished place among the masters of the diplomatic art.

ANDREW BONAR LAW-It was only in



1900 that Mr. Bonar Law was first elected to Parliament, and he is essentially a political product of the twentieth century. He is the business man in politics.

No man in our time has obtained a commanding position in the State so rapidly as Mr. Bonar Law. Within eleven years of his entering Parlia-

ment he became leader of the Opposition, and at the end of another five years he was leader of the House. Born in Canada sixty years ago, he became a successful iron merchant in Glasgow, and it was his firsthand knowledge of modern commerce that enabled him to gain the ear of the House when, soon after his election, the tariff reform controversy arose.

During the period of Unionist Opposition which began in 1906, Mr. Bonar Law was one of the few good debaters under Mr. Balfour's leadership. Still, few were prepared for his elevation to the leadership of the party in the House of Commons upon Mr. Balfour's retirement.

When the war came he proclaimed a party truce, to which he and his followers scrupulously adhered. When the truce was replaced by a formal Coalition Mr. Bonar Law became Colonial Secretary, and was probably the least-criticised Minister in that combination.

Finally, at the end of 1916, he joined Mr. Lloyd George's Ministry in the threefold capacity of member of the War Cabinet, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and leader of the House of Commons. The two largest budgets in England's financial history stand to his credit, and their incidence was generally regarded as so fair and wellbalanced that he secured the passing of both through the House of Commons without the slightest difficulty. He proved, too, a successful leader of a rather restless and suspicious House. Since the general election Mr. Bonar Law has ceased to be Chancellor of the Exchequer, and has taken the sinecure office of Lord Privy Seal.

SOUTH AFRICA

GENERAL BOTHA-General Louis Botha,

Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, was born at Vryheid, South Africa, and was a member of the first Volksraad of the South African Republic. During the Boer General Botha war succeeded General Joubert as Commander in Chief of the Boer forces. When responsible Government was granted to the Trans-



vaal in 1907 General Botha became the first Prime Minister, a position which he held until the Transvaal became part of the Union, in 1910, when he was chosen as the first Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa.

When war broke out General Botha threw the whole force of his Government into the scale in the cause of Great Britain. He at once undertook to reduce the German colony of Southwest Africa, an undertaking which he carried out in person as Commander in Chief of the forces which overran the German colony. First, however, General Botha had to subdue a rebellion within the Union. This he did with conspicuous ability and efficiency.

General Botha has represented first, the Transvaal, and then the Union of South Africa, at Imperial Conferences.

GENERAL SMUTS-General Jan Smuts is

a South African by birth, and he received his early education at Stellenbosch, in the Cape Province. Though when the Boer war broke out he was still a very young man, he had already a great reputation among the South African Dutch, and this was confirmed and extended by his conspicuous services to their



cause during the war. Among them was a brilliant raid into Cape Colony during the latter part of the campaign, so that when peace was made in 1902 General Smuts was established with General Botha as one of the two recognized leaders of the Transvaal Dutch. This combination has continued ever since, and General Smuts has been the right hand of General Botha in office—brilliant in intellect, untiring in work, remorselessly efficient in administration.

In the campaign in German Southwest Africa General Smuts commanded the columns invading the colony from the south, taking risks which were brilliantly justified by results. In 1916 he took command of the British forces operating in German East Africa and organized the campaign which annihilated the German power and reduced von Lettow Vorbeck to the condition of a fugitive, from which he never recovered, though he avoided capture to the end. Then General Smuts went to England to represent South Africa at the Imperial War Cabinet of 1917, and remained as a permanent member of it till after the recent general election.

AUSTRALIA

MR. HUGHES-William Morris Hughes,



Prime Minister of the Australian Commonwealth, was born in London, the son of Welsh parents. He entered State politics as a member of the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales in 1894, and retained his seat till 1901, when he was elected to the first House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of

tralia. The leader of the Australian Labor Party at that time was Andrew Fisher, and Mr. Hughes speedily established himself as Mr. Fisher's right-hand man in Parliament. Meanwhile Mr. Hughes had been called to the Bar, and it was as Attorney General in Mr. Fisher's Cabinets that he finally established his claim to the succession. when Mr. Fisher resigned in 1915 Mr. Hughes succeeded him as Prime Minister. Mr. Hughes has had a difficult course to steer. Twice he submitted the question of conscription to a referendum, and twice he was defeated. After a breach with the extreme section of his own party he formed a Coalition with the Liberals, led by Mr., now Sir Joseph, Cook. Mr. Hughes went to England to represent the Commonwealth at the Imperial War Cabinet in 1918, and has remained there since.

SIR JOSEPH COOK-Sir Joseph Cook,



Minister for the Navy of the Australian I an Commonwealth, who was born in England, has been a member of the Australian House of Representatives since 1901. He became Prime Minister of the Commonwealth in 1913, and was still in office when the war broke out. Thus it fell to him to direct the early participation of his

Dominion in the war, and this he did with the utmost enthusiasm, from the moment when, immediately after war broke out, he placed the Australian squadron at the disposal of the British Admiralty. Sir Joseph Cook was defeated by the Labor Party under Mr. Fisher at the general election held in September, 1914. After the defeat of conscription at the first referendum, he joined Mr. Hughes in a Coalition Ministry, and has been unswervingly loyal to the political compact then made.

NEW ZEALAND

MR. MASSEY-William Ferguson Massey,

Prime Minister of New Zealand, an Ulsterman birth. who has achieved success as a farmer in New Zealand, led the Conservative Party before the war, and was in office as Prime Minister when the war broke out, an event which he anticipated by the offer of a division to the Imperial Government. New Zealand.



too, was represented at the outbreak of war by the warship New Zealand, which she had presented to the British fleet. Mr. Massey had taken office as Prime Minister in 1912. but in 1915 it became clear that a coalition with the Liberal Party, led by Sir Joseph Ward, was desirable. It was formed-both parties showing a disposition to make personal sacrifices in the national cause. It has subsisted ever since, and the Ministry which presides over it is called the National Ministry. Mr. Massey went to England to attend the Imperial War Cabinets of 1917 and of 1918, and had barely returned from the latter when he was summoned again to represent his Dominion at the Peace Conference.

SIR JOSEPH WARD-Sir Joseph Ward has

had a long and distinguished career in New Zealand politics. He is leader of the Liberal Party, he has been Prime Minister, and he represented New Zealand at the Imperial Conferences of 1907 and 1911. In 1909 he was a member of the Conference of Imperial and Dominion representatives on naval and military de-



fense. At that conference the Australian policy of establishing an Australian naval unit took shape, but Sir Joseph Ward, on behalf of New Zealand, would have none of it for his Dominion, and insisted on the maintenance of the policy of contribution to the British Navy. In 1915 Sir Joseph Ward joined Mr. Massey as the joint head of the

National Ministry, with the portfolio of Finance. With Mr. Massey he represented his Dominion at the Imperial War Cabinets of 1917 and 1918.

NEWFOUNDLAND

SIR WILLIAM FREDERICK LLOYD, Prime Minister of Newfoundland, was born in England, where he was at one time a schoolmaster. He became Prime Minister of Newfoundland in 1918. He has no permanent seat in the Peace Conference, but was the first Dominion representative to attend it under the panel system at its first formal meeting.

CANADA

SIR ROBERT BORDEN-Sir Robert Laird



Borden, Prime Minister of Canada and Secretary of State for External Affairs, is a barrister, who practiced in Halifax, took silk in 1900, and was elected to the Canadian House of Com-There mons in 1896. he led the Opposition from 1901 to 1911, when he defeated Sir Wilfrid Laurier at the general election, which

turned on the issue of reciprocity with the United States. Sir Robert Borden has borne the chief share of the burden of directing Canadian affairs throughout the war. He has shown conspicuous ability and courage, combined with the power of weighing a question well before coming to a decision on it. His political wisdom and moderation were shown by his persistent efforts, in the face of every kind of discouragement, to bring about a coalition with the pro-conscription Sir Robert Borden has been a Liberals. convinced believer in the value of the Imperial War Cabinet, and has frequently stated his view that it is the nucleus of future imperial developments.

SIR GEORGE FOSTER-Sir George E.



Foster is a Canadian by birth, and has had long and distina guished career in Canadian politics. He was first elected to the Canadian House of Commons in 1882 as member for Kings. New Brunswick, and he reached office as Minister of Marine and Fisheries in 1885. When Sir Robert Borden won the election

of 1911, Sir George Foster became Minister of Trade and Commerce, and he holds the same portfolio in the present Government. MR. DOHERTY-Charles Joseph Doherty,

a Canadian barrister, who was a Judge of the Superior Court of Quebec from 1891 to 1906, entered Canadian politics as a member of the House of Commons in 1908, and was appointed Minister of Justice by Sir Robert Borden when the Conservative Cabinet was formed after the election of 1911. Mr. Doherty holds the same



portfolio in the present Ministry. As a lawyer, his reputation is high.

INDIA

MR. MONTAGU-Edwin Samuel Montagu

was appointed Under Secretary for India in 1910, and his first budget speech a few months later marked him out for political promotion, and there was no surprise when he entered the Cabinet as Chancellor of the Duchy early in 1915, In the first Coalition Government he was Minister of Munitions, but retired with other



friends of Mr. Asquith when Mr. Lloyd George came into power. In the Summer of 1917 Austen Chamberlain resigned the Indian Secretaryship and Mr. Montagu was selected for the vacancy. He it was, therefore, who was spokesman of the famous "Pronouncement" of Aug. 20, and a few months later he proceeded to India to investigate the political situation in association with the Viceroy. Their famous joint report on Indian constitutional reforms was issued in July, 1918, and further investigations are in progress in pursuance of its recommendations, with a view to the gradual development of self-governing institutions.

MAJOR GENERAL H. H. MAHARAJAH SIR GANGA SINGH BAHADUR OF BIKANER, A. D. C. to the King, belongs to the warrior clan of Rathore Rajputs, and is descended from the ancient Kings of Kanauj. He has exceptional qualifications, both personal and hereditary, to represent his order. His long record of war service began with the expedition for the relief of the legations at Peking, in which he commanded his famous Camel Corps. During the war he served both in France and Egypt, and in the latter country and in Palestine the Camel Corps won fresh laurels in many a battle.

When the Maharajah went to London in 1917 as the first Indian Prince to be delegated to the Imperial War Conference and Cabinet, his speeches on Indian progress and reform made a great impression. He could not be spared from recruiting and other war work in India for the second War Conference and Cabinet, but his selection for the present historic gatherings in Paris was most heartily approved by Indian opinion.

SIR S. P. SINHA-Sir Satyendra Prassano



Sinha, K. C., will go down to history as representing in his own person more fully than any contemporary Indian the progress of his country toward the ultimate goal of self-government within the empire. The romance of his advancement from the obscurity of an Indian village home is scarcely less remark-

able than that of Mr. Lloyd George. He went to England to study for the Bar at Lincoln's Inn thirty-eight years ago after secret preparation, owing to the strong prejudice then prevailing in Bengal against foreign travel.

He was the first Indian to be appointed permanent Advocate General of Bengal, and to become, just under ten years ago, a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. He is the first Indian to "take silk" (an honor hitherto jealously confined to the Bar practicing in England) to be a member (in association with the Maharajah of Bikaner) of the Imperial War Conference and Imperial War Cabinet in 1917, and now to participate in the Peace Conference, to be made a member of the Ministry in Whitehall, and, finally, to be raised to the peerage, for he is to represent the India Office as Under Secretary in the House of Lords. He is the second Indian (Ameer Ali being the first) to be named of the Privy Council.

SIR ALFRED HAMILTON GRANT, K. C. I. E., C. S. I., Indian Civil Service, who has been placed on special duty by the Government of India in association with the deputation, is the second surviving son of the late Sir Alexander Grant, 10th Bt. After serving for many years in the Punjab and the Northwest Frontier Province, he was appointed Foreign Secretary to the Government of India in March, 1915. On his return to India he is to succeed Colonel Sir George Roos-Keppel as Chief Commissioner of the Northwest Frontier Province.

UNITED STATES

PRESIDENT WILSON—Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States and Chief of the American delegation. Mr. Wilson, a considerable part of whose career has been spent as President of the great American University of Princeton, was elected to the Presidency of the United States in 1912, and entered the White House in the Spring of 1913. His only previous public office had

been that of Governor of New Jersey, where he made a fine record as a reformer in a State the politics of which had not been particularly savory. Mr. Wilson is a statesman essentially of the liberal school. Before the war he wrought in the United States a number of useful reforms. His policy of neutrality during the



first phases of the war was prompted partly by a desire to be true to the old American tradition of aloofness from extra-American affairs, partly by a sincere belief that by remaining out of the war he could best bring to the work of reconstruction the moral and material resources of his country. In the Autumn of 1916 Mr. Wilson was re-elected on a platform in which the maintenance of neutrality was the chief plank. His desire and that of a majority of the American voters to avoid war did not, however, prevent a declaration of hostility against Germany in April, 1917, after Germany, by a recrudescence of submarine savagery, had enabled him conclusively to prove to his people that half-measures were useless, and that it was the clear duty of their country to join the posse comitatus of civilization.

Mr. Wilson's war administration was effective in the extreme. By a fine flight of bold and imaginative democratic statesmanship he prevailed upon Congress to pass offhand a law for universal military service, backed by a measure of war finance generous enough to finance by loans allied purchases in the United States, as well as the vast American war machine. Having organized man power on a national basis, the President attacked industrial mobilization on the same scale. There was, it is true, during the Autumn and Winter of 1917 and 1918 considerable difficulty in starting the vast machine of American war effort. There were disappointment and delays over the air program and other things. But during the Summer of 1918 the United States was, at the supreme crisis, able to produce in France the men needed, and, had the war continued, her output of men and material would by next year have become irresistible.

President Wilson has in a special sense made the cause of the new democracy his own. Without his championship it is doubtful whether the League of Nations would have attained the high place that it has now got in the program of the conference, while the high ideals of his fourteen points serve as a useful antidote to more selfish national ambitions. The Fresident is, in fact, though

enjoying only the qualified support of the powerful opposition party in the United States, regarded by liberalism the world over as one of its chief leaders and spokesmen.

MR. LANSING-Robert Lansing is Secre-



tary of State and chief member of Mr. Wilson's Cabinet. Though in the old days of the American Commonwealth the Secretary of State dealt with many domestic matters, his functions now correspond essentially to those of a Foreign Minister. Mr. Lansing is by training welf qualified as a dele-

gate. A lawyer by profession, he early specialized in the international field, and has frequently represented his Government in international cases. In 1893 he was junior counsel in the Bering Sea Arbitration at Paris. He was later counsel in the Bering Sea Claims Commission. In 1905 he went to The Hague to help in presenting the American case in the famous North Atlantic Fisheries Arbitration. From 1912 to 1914 he was United States agent in the Anglo-American Claims Arbitration.

Mr. Lansing succeeded Mr. Bryan as Secretary of State in the Spring of 1915. So far as matters of policy go, the President has been his own Foreign Minister; but in the tangled negotiations of the last phase of American neutrality he had in Mr. Lansing an able and level-headed lieutenant. Quiet and courtly in manner, well versed in the protocol of international conferences, with an intimate knowledge of American diplomacy and policy during the war, Mr. Lansing's value in shaping conclusions on many important questions has been very great.

COLONEL HOUSE-Colonel E. M. House



has never held any official position in the
United States. He has,
however, in the last
few years been the
most influential and
the most discussed figure, next to the Presi dent, in American
public life. Born in
Texas and possessed
of a private fortune
sufficient for his modest needs, Colonel
House early interested

himself in the politics of his State. Never seeking anything for himself, endowed with great political sagacity, with a keen judgment of human nature, and with that extraordinary memory of facts and faces that

is so great an asset in public affairs, he reached a position, smoothly and silently, of almost dictatorial power in the councils of the Democratic Party in his State.

Colonel House's début in national affairs synchronized with that of Mr. Wilson. Convinced that Mr. Wilson was the predestined leader of the Democratic Party, he became his friend and began to become his counselor during the days of the future President's candidature.

During the days of American neutrality Colonel House made frequent trips abroad to get into contact with the leading men on both sides and glean first-hand facts bout the war. While in the United States he saw in his flat in New York countless people, and received countless letters in regard to every phase of international affairs.

Some months after the United States entered the war Colonel House was sent abroad by the President as his personal representative, and there can be little doubt that during his stay in Paris and London in the closing weeks of 1917 he did a good deal to prepare the way for Marshal Foch's appointment as Generalissimo. On the present occasion he preceded the President to Europe by several weeks, and since his arrival has been his chief lieutenant in Paris.

His office at the Hotel de Crillon is the clearing house of virtually all the important matters that come to the American delegation.

HENRY WHITE-Henry White is a diplo-

matist de carrière. His first-hand knowledge of Europe dates back to the Second Empire. He entered the American Diplomatic Service in 1883, and served as Secretary of Embassy in Vienna, and then in London, where later, from 1897 to 1905, he acted as First Secretary and frequently as Chargé d'Affaires. In 1905 he was appointed



Ambassador in Rome and was promoted to be Ambassador in Paris in 1907. In 1909 he retired.

Mr. White was a very close friend of the late Mr. Roosevelt, who appointed him to both embassies. Partly for this success he was selected to represent the Republican Party at the Peace Conference. The Republicans, though they would have preferred some more active member of the party for Paris, acquiesced in the choice on account both of Mr. White's personal popularity and of his obvious qualifications as a diplomatist. Besides his embassy experience, he was the American representative in 1906 at the Conference of Algeciras upon Morocco, while he knows probably more European public men than any other American.

GENERAL BLISS-General Tasker H.



Bliss, as America's representative at the Supreme War Council. has become a familiar figure to the statesmen and soldiers of the Allies during the last year. Before he came to Europe General Bliss had been successively Assistant Chief and Chief of the American General Staff in Washington. He is, of course, a pro-

fessional soldier. But, as his colleagues at Versailles have discovered, he is an experienced diplomatist and administrator as well. After the Spanish war he took a leading part in the reconstruction of Cuba under the American military authorities. More recently he was military adviser to the American Commissioners at a conference with representatives of Mexico, called to consider the relations between the United States and that unfortunate republic.

JAPAN

MARQUIS KINMOCHI SAIONJI, head of the Japanese delegation, who was born in 1849, is a member of the proudest nobility of Kioto, but one of the strongest advocates of reform in Japan. He studied law in Paris as a young man, and then became acquainted with M. Clemenceau and the younger Radicals of the Third Republic. The Marquis was the closest friend of the late Prince Ito, whom he succeeded as leader of his party. He has been Minister Plenipotentiary to Austria-Hungary and Germany, President of the House of Peers and of the Privy Council, Minister of Education, and twice Prime Minister (1906-08 and 1911-12). He is one of the three oldest statesmen of Japan, the other two being Prince Yamagata and Marquis Matsukata.

VISCOUNT CHINDA-Viscount Chinda,



the Japanese Ambassador in London. was born in 1856. He first became prominent as Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs under Marquis Komura in the period covering the Russo-Japanese war. During a long diplomatic career he has been Minister to Brazil, to the Netherlands, at St. Petersburg, and Am-

bassador at Berlin (1908-11), Washington (1911-16), and London (since 1916).

BARON MAKINO, son of the famous Okubo Toshimichi, was born in 1861. He was appointed Minister to the Quirinal in 1899, and made his mark as Minister in Vienna during the Russo-Japanese war. He has since held the portfolios of Education (1906-08), Agriculture and Commerce (1911-12), and Foreign Affairs (1913-14). In 1916 he became a member of the Diplomatic Advisory Council.

MR. MATSUI, Japanese Ambassador in Paris since 1915, was born in 1868, and entered the Diplomatic Service in 1890. He served in the Washington, London, and Peking Legations, and was Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs (1912).

MR. IJUIN, who was born in 1864, entered the Diplomatic Service in 1890 and served at London, Vienna, and Peking. He was appointed Minister to China in 1908 and Ambassador in Rome in 1916.

ITALY

SIGNOR ORLANDO-Born in 1860, Vittorio

Emanuele Orlando, Italian Prime Minister, a Sicilian, former Professor of Constitutional Law at Palermo University, was for many years a lieutenant of the former Prime Minister, Signor Giolitti. He became Minister of the Interior in the late Boselli Cabinet and was much criticised on account of the latitude he allowed



the neutralist and pacifist agitators. On perceiving the danger of their movement, he governed with a firm hand, and, having succeeded Signor Boselli as Prime Minister in 1917, he gained prestige by the moral courage he showed at the moment of the Caporetto disaster. He organized national resistance to the Austro-German invasion, and in a series of patriotic speeches sustained the spirit of the country. He is personally in favor of a liberal foreign policy and is understood to favor a direct understanding with the Southern Slavs.

SALVATORE BARZILAI is a native of Trieste, of Jewish blood. He was early identified with Italian Irredentist agitation and left Trieste for Italy, where he joined the Republican Party. One of the most eloquent speakers in the Italian Chamber, he took office as Minister without portfolio in the Boselli Cabinet and contributed by his speeches to maintain public spirit. He was a member of the Italian Parliamentary Committee that organized the Rome Congress of Oppressed Austro-Hungarian Nationalities.

GENERAL COUNT MARIO DI ROBI-LANT, nephew of the former Italian Ambassador at Vienna and former Minister, is an accomplished soldier and represented Italy at the Supreme War Council of Versailles. He spent some years as Military Attaché at Berlin and subsequently commanded the Florence Army Corps. In 1906 he succeeded the late General De Giorgis Pasha as Inspector General of Macedonian reforms under the Mürzsteg program and remained in the Turkish service until the outbreak of the Italo-Turkish war of 1911. He commanded with great ability an Italian army during the first two and a half years of the war, and was transferred to Versailles in the Summer of 1918.

BARON SONNINO-Baron Sidney Sonnino



was born in 1847, the son of an Italian Jewish father and a British mother. As a young man he was attached to the Italian Legations at Madrid, Paris, and Vienna. Wealthy and well educated, of a serious turn of mind, he entered Parliament at the age of 30 as a Liberal Conservative, and showed considerable competence in so-

financial, and economic questions, studied the condition of the peasantry in Sicily, and advocated the gradual breaking up of big estates. In the Crispi Cabinets of 1887-1890 and 1893-1896 he made his mark as Under Secretary for Finance, and subsequently as Minister of the Treasury, and in the latter capacity he saved Italian credit by drastic financial and fiscal reforms, but shared with Crispi the discredit of the disaster of Adowa in 1896. He was alternately leader of the Opposition and leader of the Majority for ten years, but was Prime Minister only for two short periods of three months each in 1906 and 1910, being overthrown on each occasion by Giolittian hostility. Stern and uncompromising, he was regarded as an embodiment of his mottoes, Nitor in advercum, and Aliis si licet, tibi non licet.

Sonnino took office as Foreign Minister in November, 1914, on the death of the Marquis di San Giuliano and conducted the negotiations with Austria and Germany for recognition of the claims of Italy. He negotiated simultaneously the London Treaty with England, France, and Russia, and concluded it after the failure of the negotiations with Austria.

MARQUIS SALVAGO-RAGGI, the only trained diplomatist among the Italian delegates, served as Secretary in various Italian Embassies, but first acquired prominence as Italian Minister to China during the Boxer troubles. He was subsequentl appointed diplomatic agent at Cairo, and afterward Ambassador in Paris upon the resignation of Signor Tittoni. This post he held for a comparatively short period, but he has now returned as the diplomatic adviser to the delegation. He is a personal friend of Baron Sonnino.

SIGNOR SALANDRA-Antonio Salandra,

Prime Minister of Italy at the outbreak of war, is a native of Apulia. Entering Partiament at an early age, he acquired influence as an authority on jurisprudence and finance, and in the Crispi administration of 1893-96 became Under Secretary for Finance. In the second Pelloux Cabinet of 1899-1900 he was Min-



ister of Agriculture, and succeeded Giolitti as Prime Minister in 1913. He retained office during the first eighteen months of the war, and was responsible both for Italy's declaration of neutrality at the beginning of August, 1914, and for her declaration of war on Austria in May, 1915.

BRAZII.

OLYNTHO DE MAGHALAES, Brazilian Minister in Paris, has during a diplomatic career of over twenty years established a reputation as an unusually progressive and far-sighted statesman, and he is particularly well fitted to collaborate in the scheme for a League of Nations. His first great success was in the negotiations with Bolivia over the "Bolivian Syndicate," to which Bolivia had granted concessions in territory claimed by Brazil. He succeeded in establishing the justice of his country's demands, and thanks to his efforts Brazil subsequently obtained adequate compensation. He followed up this achievement by promoting, as Minister for Foreign Affairs, a rapprochement between Brazil and Argentina, and brought about an exchange of visits between the Presidents of the two republics, an event without precedent. He further strengthened Brazil's position by obtaining the signature of a treaty of general arbitration with Chile. Thanks to Senhor de Maghalaes's farsighted and conciliatory policy a foundation has been laid in South America for the establishment of an international entente.

EPITACIO PESSOA is the head of the delegation which has been sent from Brazil for the Peace Conference. He is a member of the Senate and a prominent figure in politics, but he is perhaps most distinguished as an expert in jurisprudence. He is a member of the Supreme Court of Justice.

PANDIA CALOGERAS is one of the greatest authorities on economic questions in Brazil. He has held portfolios of Agriculture and Finance, and in both offices has given proof of high technical accomplishment and first-class intellectual powers. He was one of the ablest coadjutors of Baron de Rio Branco when the latter was Minister for Foreign Affairs, and was chosen by him to

represent Brazil at the third Pan-American Congress. He is a man of very strong and independent character.

BELGIUM

PAUL HYMANS, Belgian Minister for Foreign Affairs, was previously Belgian Minister in London. Before the war he was a leader of the Belgian Liberal Party and the Belgian bar. He is a man of great intellectual vigor and of wide political experience.

M. VAN DEN HEUVEL, one of the most distinguished members of the Belgian Diplomatic Service, was until recently Minister to the Vatican. He has constantly defended the Belgian cause at the Holy See a ainst the intrigues of Germany and the pressure of the German Catholic hierarchy.

M. VANDERVELDE-Emile Vandervelde,



Minister of Justice, is a leader of the Belgian Socialist Party, who, like other prominent Belgian Socialists, supported the Government in August, 1914, and went into exile with it when the Germans overran the country. He took office in the De Broqueville Cabinet as Minister of State without portfolio, but ac-

cepted the portfolio of Justice in the present administration.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

KAREL KRAMARCZ. Prime Minister of the Czechoslovak Government, was long leader of the Young Czech Party in the Austrian Reichsrat. He was prominent in assuring the return of the Czech Deputies to active participation in Austrian politics after their long abstention as a protest against the late Emperor Francis Joseph's failure to fulfill his promise to be crowned King of Bohemia at Prague in 1870. He opposed the Austro-German Alliance and the Triple Alliance as fatal to the interests of the Hapsburgs, and was regarded by Austrian Germans as their most redoubtable political antagonist. A strong Russophile, he was one of the imitators of the Neo-Slav movement. He was arrested early in the war and condemned to death by an Austrian court, but was subsequently reprieved and liberated. His whole public life has been devoted to the cause of Bohemian liberty.

EDWARD BENES is Foreign Minister of the Czechslovak Republic. A student of sociology and pupil of Professor Masaryk, now President of the Republic, he was tutor at the Czech University of Prague, but escaped from Bohemia early in the war. He joined Masaryk, founded with him and General Stefanik the Czechoslovak National Council, and was instrumental in raising the Czechslovak Army and in securing recognition from the Allies for the Czechoslovak Provisional Government.

GREECE

M. VENIZELOS-Eleutherios Venizelos,

Greek Prime Minister, first acquired fame as leader in the Cretan insurrection of 1897. He showed great ability in negotiations with the European powers, and became undisputed leader of the Cretans before consenting to enter Greek political life. Although a convinced republican, he saved the dynasty and the



country during the crisis of 1909, carried through a revision of the Constitution, and prepared the Balkan Alliance of 1912. co-operated loyally with the late King George of Greece, but was exposed to the various intrigues of his son, King Constantine, who took umbrage at his popularity. From the outset of the war he was convinced that Greece must join the Allies, and, although a first offer of military assistance had been rejected, he prepared steadily for intervention. Thwarted by the intrigues of King Constantine and of German agents, he broke with the King and set up a Provisional Revolutionary Government at Saloniki. mately he returned triumphantly to Athens as head of the National Government after the abdication of King Constantine and the accession of King Alexander. He contributed notably to the success of the Saloniki Army by the reorganization of the Hellenic forces. His present aim is the union of all Greeks in one State, and especially the liberation of Greek Asia Minor and of the Aegean Islands from alien rule.

M. POLITIS, Greek Foreign Minister, is a close friend and collaborator of Venizelos, with whom he has been associated through all the recent vicissitudes of that statesman's career. He helped in the formation of the Provisional Government at Saloniki, and returned with M. Venizelos to Athens. An eloquent speaker, he is an ardent advocate of the policy of Hellenic national reunion.

HEDJAZ

PRINCE FEISAL is the third son of the Sherif of Mecca, who has become the head of the new Arab Kingdom of Hedjaz. Prince Feisal led the Arab Army which co-operated with General Allenby in wresting Palestine and Syria from the Turks. Prince Feisal has been active in presenting the territorial claims of the new kingdom at the Peace Conference.

POLAND

ROMAN DMOWSKI, for many years a leader of the Russian Poles and a Conservative in politics, was a member of the First Duma and author of a well-known work on the Polish question. He came to Western Europe as unofficial representative of the Russian Poles in the early part of the war, and subsequently helped to form the Polish National Committee, of which he has been the President. For this body he obtained recognition from the allied Governments as the official representative of Polish interests, and he has now been appointed delegate to the Peace Conference by the Coalition Government in Warsaw.

PORTUGAL

EGAS MONIZ, Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs, will be chief of the Portuguese delegation. He is a doctor of the Medical Faculty, Lisbon. A great friend of Sidonio Paes, the late President, he entered political life at an early age, and was frequently offered portfolios in different Governments, but only accepted the portfolio of Foreign Affairs five months ago at the urgent insistence of his friend Paes. He had previously represented Portugal at Madrid.

RUMANIA

M. BRATIANO-Jean Bratiano is Ruma-



nian Prime Minister and head of the Liberal Party. He is the son of the famous Rumanian statesman who brought about the constitution of united Rumanian Principality and invited Prince Charles of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen to accept the Rumanian throne in 1866. He was from the beginning of the war

a convinced supporter of the Allies, preserved a prudently friendly attitude toward them during the period of neutrality, concluded with them the treaty on the basis of which Rumanonia declared war in the Summer of 1916, and organized Rumanian resistance to the Austro-German invasion. His conduct after Rumania had been compelled to sign the Treaty of Bucharest was extremely courageous.

NICHOLAS MISU is the most distinguished living Rumanian diplomatist. By origin a Macedonian Rumane, he adopted Rumanian citizenship and represented his country for many years in Balkan capitals. He gained distinction as Minister at Sofia, Vienna, and London, where he carried on with the British Government the negotistions relating to Rumanian participation in the war. He returned to Rumania by special request to defend his country's interests when the con-

clusion of peace became inevitable. He has a remarkable knowledge of European and Balkan languages.

SERBIA

NIKOLA PASHITCH - Nikola Pashitch.

founder and leader of the Serbian Radical Party, has played a prominent part in Serbian internal politics. and was Prime Minisalmost uninterruptedly from 1905 until his recent resigna-He conducted Sorbian resistance to the Austro-Hungarian tariff war of 1905. directed Serbian affairs during the Bos-



nian annexation crisis of 1908-9, prepared on behalf of Serbia the Balkan Alliance of 1912. and was responsible head of Serbian affairs during the whole of the war. His personal conception of the future of Serbia was that she should form a "Greater Serbia" by the annexation of the Serbs of Austria-Hungary and of Montenegro rather than that all the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes outside Serbia should join her in forming a united Southern Slav State

ANTE TRUMBITCH, Foreign Minister of the new Serb-Croat-Slovene kingdom, is a native of Spalato, in Dalmatia, and was for many years Mayor of the city. A prominent member of the Dalmatian bar, he became President of the Dalmatian Provincial Diet and a Dalmatian Deputy to the Austrian Reichsrat. He was one of the authors of the Fiume revolution of 1905, which first united the Croats and Serbs of Austria-Hungary. On the eve of war he succeeded in escaping from Austria and formed with Supilo and other leading Southern Slavs the Southern Slav Committee, of which he was chosen President. In that capacity he concluded with Serbia in July, 1917, the Declaration of Corfu, which was the preliminary charter of Southern Slav unity under the Karageorgevic dynasty. He concluded also in March, 1918. with the Italian Deputy, Dr. Torre, on behalf of a comprehensive Italian Parliamentary Committee, the Italo-Southern Slav agreement, which was ratified by the Rome Congress and approved by Signor Orlando in April, 1918. Upon the formation of the new united Southern Slav kingdom he was appointed Foreign Minister.

DR. VESNITCH-Dr. Vesnitch is Serb-

Croat-Slovene Minister in Paris, where he formerly represented Serbia for many years. He was a supporter and friend of M. Pashitch, and was intrusted with a special Serbian mission to the United States after the American declaration of war.

Seating of the Peace Conference Delegates

GENERAL SECRETARIES INTERPRETER+ 70 68 + + 44 1 39 38 45 67 + + 77 + + 46 66 m 47 65 + + 48 ++ 49 10+ + 33 50 201+ + + 32 51 61 + + m + + 52 22 + + 31 60 + + 53 23 + + 30 59 24 + + 29 58 + + 54 28 55 25 SECRETARIES AND DOOR

DIAGRAM SHOWING POSITIONS OF DELEGATES AT FIRST SESSION OF CONFERENCE

The relative positions of the various delegates around the peace table at the opening session of the Paris Conference. Jan. 18, 1919, is indicated by the figures in the accompanying diagram. M. Poincaré. President of the French Republic. presided at this session and occupied the seat later filled by M. Clemenceau at the head of the horseshoe table. few changes were made at later meetings, but the relative positions of the delegations remained the same throughout the life of the conference in the Quai d'Orsay Building:

1. M. Poincaré, President of the French Republic.

United States.

- 2. Pres. Wilson.
- 3. Lansing.
- 4. White.
- 5. Col. House.

6. Gen. Bliss. Great Britain.

- 7. Lloyd George.
- 8. Balfour.
- 9. Bonar Law.
- 10. Barnes.
- 11. Lloyd.

France.

- 12. Clemenceau.
- 13. Pichon.
- 14. Marshal Foch.

15.	Klotz.
16.	Tardie

17. Cambon.

Italy.

- 18. Sonnino. 19. Salvago Raggi.
- 20. Orlando.
- 21. Salandra.
- 22. Barzilai.

Belgium.

- 23. Hymans.
- 24. Van den Heuvel.
- 25. Vandervelde.

Brazil.

- 26. Pessoa.
- 27. Magalhaes.
- 28. Calogeras.

Cuba.

29. Martinez.

Greece.

- 30. Politis.
- 31. Venizelos.

Haiti.

20

Porn

33 Calderon

Portugal.

- 34. Villella.
- 35. Moniz.
- 35. Moniz.

Serbia and Jugo-

- 37. Trumbitch.
- 38 Vesnitch

Czechoslovak

- Republic.
- 39. Benes.

40. Krammarcs.

41. Carlos Blanco.

Canada.

- 42. Foster.
- 43. Sifton.

Australia.

- 44. Hughes.
- 45. Cook.

South Africa.

- 46. Gen. Botha.
- 47. Gen. Smuts.

New Zealand.

48. -

British Indla.

- 49. Maharaja Ganga
- Singh. 50. Lord Sinha.

Janan.

- 51. Marquis Kin-
- mochi Saionji. 52. Baron Makino.
- 53. Viscount Chinda.
- 54 Mateui
- 55. Ijuin.

Bolivia.

56. Montes.

China

- 57. Chengling
 - Thomas Wang.

58. Lou Tseng Tsiang.

Ecuador.

59. De Alsua.

Guatemala.

go

Hediaz

- 61. Rustem Haïdar.
- 62. Emir Faisal.

Liberia.

- 63. —
- Panama.

64. ——

- Poland.

Rumania.

- 67. Misu.
- 68. Bratiano.

The New Armistice Settlement

Ships in Exchange for Food

THE complete text of the Armistice Convention signed at Treves on Feb. 16, 1919, prolonging the armistice for an indefinite period and revokable at a notice of seventy-two hours, is given in English translation below:

The undersigned plenipotentiaries, Admiral Wemyss being replaced by Admiral Browning, General von Winterfeld being replaced by General von Hammerstein, and the Plenipotentiary Minister Count von Oberndorf by Plenipotentiary Minister von Haniel, invested with powers in virtue of which the Armistice Convention of Nov. 11, 1918, was signed, have ratified the following supplementary convention:

1. The Germans must cease at once all offensive operations against the Poles in the region of Posen and in all other regions. To this end, they are prohibited from crossing with their troops the line of the old frontier of Eastern Prussia and Western Prussia with Russia as far as Luisenfeld, and from that point the following line: West from Luisenfeld, west from Gross-Neudorff, south of Brzoze, north of Schubin, north of Exin, south of Samoczin, south of Chodzienzin, north of Czarnikof, west of Mialla, west of Birnbaum, west of Bentschen, west of Voilstein, north of Lissa, north of Rawiez, south of Krotoszin, west of Adelnau, west of Schildberg, north of Vierruchow, then the frontier of Silesia.

- 2. The armistice of Nov. 11, prolonged by the conventions of Dec. 13, 1918, and Jan. 16, 1919, to Feb. 17, 1919, is again extended for a short period, date of termination not specified, which period the allied and associated powers reserve the right to terminate within three days' notice.
- 3. The execution of the clauses of the convention of Nov. 11, 1918, and of the additional conventions of Dec. 13, 1918, and Jan. 16, 1919, imperfectly fulfilled, will be continued and completed during the extension period of the armistice, subject to the conditions of detail fixed by the permanent Armistice Commission, according to the instructions of the Allied High Command

Treves, Feb. 16, 1919.

FOCH, ERZBERGER,
BROWNING. VON HAMMERSTEIN,
VON HANIEL,

AFTER THE SIGNING

VON SELOW.

Marshal Foch, immediately after the signing of the new convention, left Treves on his special train. On his arrival in Paris, the Commander in Chief of the Allied Forces went to the headquarters of the council and delivered to M. Clemenceau the text of the new convention.

It was decided that the Supreme Council of War should meet in the afternoon to hear from the Marshal's own lips the story of the negotiations at Treves. The conditions under which the treaty was signed, and the German protest, were given in the preceding issue of this magazine.

IN THE GERMAN ASSEMBLY

The Weimar correspondent of The Associated Press, telegraphing Feb. 17, said:

The party speeches in the National Assemly which had been set down for this afternoon suffered a rude interruption through the outcome of the new armistice negotiations. The general outlines of the new terms were known early today, and it was no surprise when President Fehrenbach announced that the speeches and arguments would be deferred, so that Mathias Erzberger, head of the German armistice delegation, might give a personal explanation of what had happened between his departure for Treves last week and his unexpectedly early return today.

Herr Erzberger, noticeably wrought up and laboring under a strain, began with the announcement that the delegates were entitled to know at the earliest moment the full details of the negotiations. He then read the terms, and the House listened in almost agonized silence. The slightest stir of noise brought angry hisses. The Assembly had never been one tithe so still.

The Minister read the items, and the members of the House stirred uneasily as he finished them and paused for breath. Before beginning his explanation Herr Erzberger exclaimed:

"It is my wish that you may never have the fateful hours I have had. We on the Armistice Commission have had to

bear untold responsibility."

He then referred to the unfortunate well-nigh fatal delay in the arrival of the terms at Welmar, and went into the details of Marshal Foch's ultimatum, which, he said, he was assured was framed with the unqualified approval of President Wilson.

FOCH "STERNLY INSISTENT."

He told of his efforts to obtain modifications, but said that Marshal Foch had been sternly insistent on the acceptance of the terms. He touched only briefly, but clearly, on his successful protests against the incorporation of Silesia in Polish territory and his unsuccessful efforts to save Birnbaum, Bentschen, and other German towns. He emphasized the promise that the Allies would take over the responsibility of keeping the Poles in check and

give guarantees for the safety of the Germans on the Polish side of the new frontier.

To Herr Erzberger's protests Marshal Foch replied that all the terms were purely military measures and in accordance with President Wilson's "fourteen points."

The German spokesman protested likewise against the indeterminate extension of the armistice, but Marshal Foch brusquely declined to make any alteration, and insisted upon the inclusion of a clause giving him power to promulgate any order to Germany at will.

Herr Erzberger then asked whether the short indeterminate continuation of the armistice might lead to an early peace, to which Marshal Foch replied: "I think

so: I assume so."

The Minister said the difficulties had been greater because the negotiations had become more acute recently, and a long discussion demonstrated that nothing more would be changed. Her Erzberger assured the Assembly:

"I have confidence that Marshal Foch's

given word will be kept."

He said he had achieved almost no results in his efforts to have German prisoners released, beyond a promise by France and England to send back 2,000 badly wounded men each. He then read the German note which he had presented to Marshal Foch when the armistice terms were signed. He had had a sad mission, he said, with few happy results.

"The world knows," he concluded, "that we do not want a new war and cannot conduct one. The world will condemn the Entente for its severity."

ARMISTICE SECRETS REVEALED

Mathias Erzberger of the German Armistice Commission again held the centre of the stage on Feb. 18, before the National Assembly, outlining the entire history of the armistice negotiations. His statement was in reply to a bitter personal attack made upon him by the first speaker to be heard under the rule giving time for an interpellation regarding the recently renewed armistice—Herr Vogler, a delegate of the German People's Party.

The House was in an uproar for the better part of an hour, first in protest against Herr Vogler's attack and then in enthusiastic support of Dr. Erzberger as he defended himself and denounced his assailant.

Dr. Erzberger told the House many things about the armistice which were either unknown to or had only been suspected by his hearers. One of these was his unqualified statement that it was Prince Maximilian of Baden who had approached the Entente because of the "iron compulsion" of the high military command for peace. He said it was Field Marshal von Hindenburg who demanded and authorized the signing of the first terms.

On the evening of Nov. 10, Dr. Erzberger continued, he received a wireless from the German High Command asking for concessions on nine points, but also containing the phrase, now made public for the first time, that, "even if you do not succeed in obtaining concessions on these points, you must sign the armistice."

Dr. Erzberger said that he took the responsibility for recalling Hugo Stinnes from Treves, whither he went as an expert in regard to the handing over of agricultural machinery. Dr. Erzberger added:

I could not present to our adversaries as an expert a man who, like him, had taken such large part in the exploitation of Belgium, and who was the principal author of the deportation of the unemployed from Belgium, an incident which has created such a deplorable impression.

Philipp Scheidemann, the Socialist leader, said the Government did not consider itself in a position to decline responsibility for signing the armistice conditions, painful as they were. He strongly criticised the attitude of the members of the Right.

In this he was supported by Herr Erzberger, who exclaimed:

You have no right to complain. You yourselves are guilty. You led the German people to disaster. What would have become of us had we refused to sign the terms? Clemenceau would have triumphed and Wilson's fourteen points would have been put aside.

At the close of the session Dr. David, Minister without portfolio, said that the most deplorable fact was that the interpellation under discussion emanated from those responsible for the country's misfortunes, and might create the impression abroad that these men still exercised a determining influence.

SPA NEGOTIATIONS HALTED

Meanwhile the Peace Conference at

Paris was discussing the severe military terms to be applied to Germany, including a sweeping reduction in the size of Germany's standing army; reports of these discussions, reaching Germany, increased public indignation there against the Allies and against Erzberger. At the same time the Allies notified Germany that she must execute the conditions of Article VIII. of the supplementary armistice signed at Treves on Jan. 16, which stipulated that in order to insure the provisioning of Germany and the remainder of Europe Germany must place her merchant fleet under the control of the allied and associated powers for the period of the armistice. The German delegates raised a strong opposition to this demand when it was formulated in detail, holding that the share of food offered to Germany under it was insufficient. They threatened to withdraw in a body and let the Allies enter Germany and take over the whole responsibility of keeping peace in the conquered country. Finally the negotiations at Spa broke down entirely on this issue. March 6, and the allied delegates returned to Paris to lay the situation before the Supreme Council.

According to the information available at the time, France had demanded that Germany should surrender her ships and make other concessions in return for a promise of supplies for a few weeks, leaving it uncertain whether additional food would be forthcoming in the remaining months before the harvest. When the other allied Commissioners had somewhat reluctantly presented these terms the Germans had refused to give up their ships under any such uncertain arrangement. Considerable indignation was felt by the Allies over the failure of the Spa conference, which was ascribed to the severity of the French attitude.

The situation, however, was remedied on March 8 by the Council of Ten, when France yielded and M. Loucheur offered a proposal for financing the food transaction which was acceptable to England, America, and Italy. The yielding of France yielded and M. Loucheur offered many followed Italy's similar concession in regard to feeding Austria, and from

that time onward Mr. Hoover's task of feeding the Central Powers and averting Bolshevism was considerably simplified.

Under the arrangement agreed upon, Germany was to get large cargoes of food monthly till the harvest. Her ships were to be turned over for the transport home of American and Australian soldiers. On the return voyage the same ships were to carry food to Germany. Germany refrained from causing further delay by pressing the point that her ships be manned by German sailors—an impossible claim for various reasons, the most notable being that the ships would have to use French and British ports.

AGREEMENT AT BRUSSELS

The Supreme Council, in settling the German shipping question, arranged also that future armistice negotiations should be transferred to Brussels. The allied Commissioners left Paris on March 12 and held their first session on the 13th in one of the Government buildings in the Belgian capital. The economic situation was greatly clarified at once by the offer of the Allies to deliver about 400,000 tons of food monthly to Germany until the next harvest, in return for the delivery of the entire German merchant marine.

The allied commission at Brussels was headed by Vice Admiral Sir Rosslyn Wemyss of Great Britain; the German by Under Secretary of State von Braun. Prior to the session the French and Americans had settled their differences as to how Germany was to be permitted to pay for the food received under the new arrangement. The American delegates had favored the use of German gold and securities for this purpose, while the French delegates, desiring to have all Germany's ready money reserved for payment of indemnities, favored the proposition that the United States should furnish the food and be paid on long credits by the fruits of German labor. A compromise had been reached under which Germany should be allowed to pay for immediate supplies out of her credits in neutral countries, but only to the extent of about \$200,000,-000. After that amount had been spent the controversy would have to be adjusted again.

Germany's representatives at Brussels definitely accepted the new proposition on March 14, and preparations were begun at once to turn over to the Allies all available merchant ships in German waters. Eight large passenger vessels were promptly made ready and sailed the next week for England, where American naval crews were to take charge of them and bring a load of American soldiers home on the first trip across for food cargoes. The giant Imperator, of 52,-000 tons, Germany's newest and greatest steamship, was also to be ready to be turned over a few days later. The German ships in Central and South America and the Dutch East Indies were included in the agreement. These were to be manned by German crews and permitted to sail for Germany. All other ships were to be manned by non-German

The total ship capacity thus made available for breaking the European famine and repatriating the American Army was estimated at 350,000 tons. Mr. Hoover pronounced the agreement one of the most important events in the settlement of a permanent peace.

VON WINTERFELD'S PROTEST

General von Winterfeld, who as military representative of Germany had driven across the lines to meet Marshal Foch and signed the first armistice and who later had relinquished his position because he could not agree to the added terms, explained his point of view to a correspondent on March 5, saying in part:

The basic mistake made by the Allies was in assuming that the Germans were in a position to resume hostilities. It must have been clearly evident to every unprejudiced judge that when we evacuated Northern France and Belgium the war was over—for us. Moreover, it would seem impossible, having given up that territory with its favorable strategic positions and rich supply sources—ore fields, for instance—to continue the war on German soil in our richest industrial province.

The Entente therefore could have been accorded perfect military security with the following guarantee: Evacuation of Northern France and Belgium; surrender of a certain amount of war material and

transport; the internment in neutral harbors of a considerable portion of the German fleet, especially the U-boats, and also the immediate beginning of demobilization. Any opposition to the last point raised by the German military leaders would have been overcome by the keen desire for peace of the Germans, even though it left Germany absolutely defenseless against its hitherto enemies.

An armistice based on my conditions would have made it entirely impossible at any place, or with any prospect of success, for Germany to begin hostilities again. Every experienced soldier must agree with me.

Conditions which General von Winterfeld considered unnecessary, and even inhuman, may be summarized as follows:

1. The short time given for the evacu-

2. The occupation of the Rhine bridgeheads, the establishment of a neutral zone, and the hermetic sealing up of the occupied territory, all of which measures entailed a crippling of German industries. 3. The full maintenance of the allied blockade. 4. The conditions imposed which forbade German resistance to Polish invasion. 5. The return of the allied prisoners without reciprocity. In signing the convention of Nov. 11 in Compiègne, General von Winterfeld explained, he had been given assurances by the French Generals which were subsequently violated. His resignation, he said, was intended as a protest against such gross humiliation of his country.

CURRENT HISTORY IN BRIEF

[PERIOD ENDED MARCH 20, 1919]

EORGES CLEMENCEAU, the Pre-Georges of France, was wounded on the morning of Feb. 19 by Emil Cottin, an anarchist, who fired five shots at him while the Premier was proceeding in his automobile to attend a conference with Colonel House of the American Peace Delegation. Cottin fired while standing on the sidewalk, as the car was passing. One bullet entered the Premier's right shoulder and lodged under the left shoulder, penetrating the lung. Two bullets inflicted slight abrasions of the skin on the right arm and the right hand. The Premier, notwithstanding his extreme age, withstood the shock, and

ATTEMPT ON CLEMENCEAU'S LIFE

time was he in a dangerous condition.

The assassin was tried by a courtmartial and sentenced to death. The act
had no political significance other than
the deed of an anarchist; it was not believed that Cottin was prompted by any
organized conspiracy, though subsequent
developments revealed other anarchistic
movements in Paris, whose participating
groups were quickly arrested and their
literature confiscated.

tens days later had sufficiently recovered

to attend the Peace Conference. At no

According to the official record read

by the clerk of the court when the courtmartial proceedings opened, Cottin first conceived the idea of killing the Premier in May, 1918, during a strike of employes of aviation factories, and he began practicing shooting then. The report, describing the attempt on the Premier, related that Cottin fired twice without moving, and then fired five times while running behind the automobile, to which he was so close that one witness believed he had jumped on the rear of the car. It was shown that Cottin aimed at the seat in which Premier Clemenceau was sitting, and fired so accurately that two bullet holes almost touched.

"Rarely has a crime," said the report, "been accomplished with more sustained premeditation, more mature design, and more implacable tenacity, with a certainty of method which it seemed would infallibly lead to a fatal result."

Cottin was described in the report as primitive, vain, and conceited, and believing himself omniscient. He was able to earn 37 francs a day easily, yet, finding society badly organized, was desirous of destroying everything. The document gave expert medical opinion, unreservedly holding Cottin responsible for his actions.

GERMANY'S WAR GUILT

TWO dispatches sent in cipher by Count von Szogyeny-Marich, Austrian Ambassador at Berlin before the war, to the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Ministry, showing that Germany was backing Austria in her warlike attitude toward Serbia, have been made public by M. R. Vesnitch, Serbian Minister to France. As printed in the Journal des Débats, March 14, the messages read:

BERLIN, July 25, 1914.—It is generally supposed here that a negative reply from Serbia will be followed on our part by an immediate declaration of war and military operations. Any adjournment of military operations would be considered here as very dangerous on account of intervention by other powers. We are counseled with the greatest insistence to pass immediately to action and thus put the world in face of an accomplished fact.

The second dispatch, marked "strictly secret," says:

BERLIN, July 27, 1914.—The Secretary of State has just declared to me positively, but under the seal of most strict secrecy, that very soon eventual propositions of mediation from England will be brought to the knowledge of your Excellency. The German Government assures me in the most convincing manner that it in no way identifies itself with these propositions, that it is absolutely against their being taken into consideration, and that it will only trahsmit them to us to give effect to the English request.

Minister Vesnitch then quotes the message sent on July 30, 1914, from Sir Edward Grey, the British Foreign Minister, to Ambassador Goschen at Berlin, offering, if the crisis passed, to take the initiative in an arrangement satisfactory to Germany. The Minister says that neither Sir Edward Grey, Foreign Minister Sazonoff of Russia, nor Premier Viviani of France then knew positively that Germany wanted war. The Minister concludes: "If any one is incredulous let him meditate upon the foregoing documents."

TISZA ACCUSED OF HAVING PLOTTED THE WAR

CHARGES that the assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand and his wife, the Duchess of Hohenberg, at Serajevo on June 28, 1914, was the result of a deliberate plot led by the late Count Tisza, former Hungarian Premier, are made in a pamphlet written by a priest who was the spiritual adviser of the Duchess of Hohenberg, according to a Vienna dispatch to the Frankfort Gazette. The pamphlet is entitled "The Serajevo Murder and Count Tisza's Responsibility for the World War." It is declared that Francis Ferdinand repeatedly refused to go to Serajevo, and it was only an appeal to his courage that induced him to make the trip.

"The most elementary precautions were omitted," it is stated by the priest. "He was simply led into a trap prepared by the Court at Vienna and by the Hungarian aristocracy, headed by Count Tisza."

The general idea of the pamphlet is that Magyar magnates, with the consent of the Vienna Court, wished to get rid of the Archduke, who was extremely disliked, and obtain vengeance for the murder at the expense of the Jugoslavs, who would be made helpless. It is pointed out that no "proper" inquiry was ever made into the tragedy, and that no one was made responsible for the fact that precautionary measures were not taken.

IRISH INDEPENDENCE

A CONVENTION was held at Philadelphia on Feb. 23 by delegates from many States representing the Irish race in America, and resolutions were passed declaring that a state of war existed between England and Ireland. The convention pledged itself to raise \$1,250,000 within six months in support of the movement to bring freedom to Ireland.

Resolutions were passed and a committee of twenty-four was appointed to convey to President Wilson the resolutions adopted by the convention. The committee was unable to obtain an interview with the President until just prior to his departure for France on the night of March 4, after he had delivered his address at the Metropolitan Opera House. He met the committee, but only on condition that Justice Daniel F. Cohalan of the New York Supreme Court should not be present. The President's attitude on this point was due to personal attacks made on him in addresses by Judge Co-

halan during the Presidential campaign. The lower house of Congress passed a resolution favoring the independence of Ireland, and several Legislatures passed similar resolutions.

President Wilson, in accepting the resolutions from the committee, expressed no opinion on the subject. Efforts were made to have a delegation, representing the Republic of Ireland, obtain an audience before the Peace Conference, but it had not succeeded up to March 20.

* * * KOREAN INDEPENDENCE

A N Associated Press dispatch from Peking, dated Feb. 28, announced that the members of the Independence Committee, representing the Korean people living in China, had presented to the American Minister a petition asking that the United States Government intercede with the Peace Conference in behalf of the Korean people, with a view to restoring the sovereignty and political independence to Korea.

During February and March frequent reports were telegraphed to European capitals from Russian and Chinese points indicating that there was an active movement among the Koreans in behalf of independence, but that all demonstrations had been severely repressed by the Japanese; it was stated that several meetings had been dispersed by soldiers and cruel penalties inflicted upon the participants.

CANADIAN LOSSES AT YPRES

SIR SAM HUGHES, former Minister of Militia of Canada, made the assertion March 5 in the House of Commons at Toronto that officers commanding the Dominion forces in France had needlessly sacrificed the lives of their men in order to advance themselves. Sir Sam opened his attack with the announcement that he had protested several times to Premier Borden "against the waste "of Canadian boys' lives in unnecessary "stunts on the battlefield." He then read a letter he had sent to Sir Robert protesting against what he termed needless slaughter at Cambrai, and stating that he had drawn the attention of the Prime Minister on previous occasions to the "massacres at Lens, Passchendaele," &c., where the only apparent object was to glorify the General in command and make it impossible, through butchery, to have a fifth and sixth division and two army corps.

Figures of the losses in the Ypres salient made public March 5 were regarded as an answer to the intimation that the Colonials had been sacrificed to save the British. The following were the official casualties of the British, Canadian, and Australian troops in the Ypres salient from July 31 to Nov. 18, 1917:

British-Officers, 10,795; men, 207,838. Canadians-Officers, 496; men, 11,107. Australians-Officers, 1,289; men, 26,-

It was announced from Toronto that Sir Sam Hughes's charges were inspired by chagrin over his failure to secure the appointment of his son by General Arthur Currie.

FILIPINO SEPARATION

THE Independence Mission of the Philippine Islands was made a permanent body March 4, and was instructed by the Territorial Legislature to continue its efforts for the erection of the Philippine Islands into an independent Filipino State until success was attained.

The action was taken by both houses of the Legislature, which were in special session, sitting jointly.

TUNNELING THE ENGLISH CHANNEL

A NDREW BONAR LAW announced in Parliament March 10 that the driving of a tunnel under the English Channel to France was being considered by the Government as among its projects for after the war. Five years would be required to complete the proposed tunnel. It is said that in ordinary times the cost of the work would be about \$80,000,000, but, in view of the increased cost of labor and materials, the expense involved under present conditions would be nearly \$100,000,000.

PARIS-MADRID IN FOURTEEN HOURS

ATUNNEL begun by France and Spain in 1898 and dug under the Pyrenees was completed on March 3. When railed it will, with French locomotives and rolling stock, reduce the journey from Paris to Madrid from twentysix to fourteen hours. The tunnel runs from Ax, Department of Ariège, France, to Puigcerda, Province of Catalonia, Spain—from the terminal of the Toulouse Railway, on the Ariège River, almost due south a distance of twenty-eight miles under the Ariège-Segre watershed to a point on the Segre River, which is thirty miles north of Berga, where the railway from Barcelona ends.

At present the only through-rail communication between France and Spain is on the Bay of Biscay littoral to the west of the Pyrenees and over the lower ranges near the Mediterranean on the east. In Northeastern Spain there are only lateral lines, save that from Barcelona to Berga, and, in order to reach the towns on the southern slopes of the Yyrenees it is necessary for both travelers and merchandise first to be transported to Madrid, unless the mountain passes be used.

The French finished their end of the tunnel in 1915. Work on the longer Spanish side received & great impetus in the Spring of 1918, when the Spanish-American commercial treaty was signed. By this treaty Spain was to help provision the American Expeditionary Force in France and in return receive raw materials from the United States.

* * * LONDON-AFRICA VIA SPAIN

TWO great railway projects are interesting the Government and press at Madrid. The first, incorporated in a bill passed by the Spanish Senate on Feb. 10, provides for a direct line from Dax, in Southern France, to Algeciras, near Gibraltar. This line is an enterprise of the British and French Governments and will form a link in the great railway from London to Cape Town, South Africa. The line will be the broad international, or American, gauge and electrified throughout.

It is purposed to make only one stop between Madrid and Algeciras, at Cuenca, where—as the line will be, at first, single track—the trains from the north and south will cross. The northern journey will be made in six to seven hours, as against the present thirteen from Irun (sixty miles southwest of Dax) to Madrid.

The other line is designed to run from the Spanish port of Vigo, on the Atlantic, east and a little north until it strikes the first line at Hendayz, fifty miles southwest of Dax. This is part of a large American project for developing the port of Vigo by building docks, warehouses, and all the equipment of a great commercial harbor.

By this scheme the journey from New York to Paris could be shortened by twenty-four hours, and its realization will give the United States a commercial entrance into Europe.

Both schemes were recently discussed by the Spanish Premier, Count Romanones, while in Paris, and it was announced that a friendly agreement had been reached by the British, French, and Spanish Governments.

UNITED STATES LOANS TO ALLIES

LEVEN allies were, on March 8, debtors of the United States. Credits had been established amounting to \$8,841,657,000, but \$410,939,000 of this sum, although subject to draft, had not yet been paid out of the Treasury. Great Britain borrowed nearly as much as all other allies combined. By nations, credits established and the balances subject to draft up to March 8 were as follows:

$\begin{array}{llllllllllllllllllllllllllllllllllll$
Italy 1,405,000,000 10,000,000 Belgium 338,145,000 60,300,000 Russia 325,000,000 137,270,000 Greece 39,554,000 Czechoslovakia 35,000,000 20,900,000
Belgium 338,145,000 60,300,000 Russia 325,000,000 137,270,000 Greece 39,554,000 Czechoslovakia 35,000,000 20,900,000
Russia 325,000,000 137,270,000 Greece 39,554,000 Czechoslovakia 35,000,000 20,900,000
Greece 39,554,000 Czechoslovakia 35,000,000 20,900,000
Czechoslovakia 35,000,000 20,900,000
C - 1 !
Serbia 27,000,000 10,000,000
Cuba 15,000,000 5,000,000
Rumania 10,000,000
Siberia 5,000,000 4,988,000

MATERIAL COST OF THE WAR

SECRETARY OF WAR BAKER announced to the conference of Governors at Washington March 3 that an official estimate submitted at his request, by experts in the War Department, indicated that the money cost of the war to

the belligerents had been \$197,000,000,-000. In his statement the Secretary said:

I asked the War Department experts to look up for me the direct expenditures which had been made by the nations engaged in this war, and they have left out all the devastations, and they have left out the dead man's strip along the western front, where cities and villages and farms and everything else have been destroyed, left out all the incidental damage, and brought me a report which is as narrow an estimate as they can make of the direct expenditure of money in the belligerent nations, which amounts to \$197,000,000,000. Nobody knows what that is; nobody can figure or make any illustration that will illuminate that kind of statement.

Mr. Baker said it had been estimated that the total wealth of the United States was less than this sum.

All the land value, all the value of personal property of every kind, all the improved value, buildings, clearing of forests, building of railroads, dredging of canals, improvement of harbors, and everything man has done of a permanent value from the time Columbus discovered America until now to make this a civilized and settled country—all that remains and is here now, plus accumulated profit of industry, and the wealth of this country is \$186,000,000,000, or about \$11,000,000,000 less than the direct expenditures of the war by the participant belligerent nations.

The world of course is poorer by that amount. If the two oceans had swept together and swamped this great continental and industrial Republic of ours the money lost to the world would not have been as great as the direct expenditures of the participant belligerent Governments.

THE ZIONIST COMMONWEALTH

PRESIDENT WILSON met a delegation of representative American Jewish Zionists, who presented to him a memorial setting forth the present status of the Jews in Eastern Europe and the effect upon them of new and enlarged European States; also a resolution adopted by an American Jewish Congress, held in Philadelphia in December, 1918, which set forth guarantees considered necessary for securing fundamental human rights to Jews throughout the world. The President replied to the delegation in the following words:

As for your representations touching

Palestine, I have before this expressed my personal approval of the declaration of the British Government regarding the aspirations and historic claims of the Jewish people in regard to Palestine. I am, moreover, persuaded that the allied nations, with the fullest concurrence of our own Government and people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth.

A countermovement in opposition to the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine developed throughout the United States, and strong protesting resolutions were transmitted to the Peace Congress by prominent American Jews who opposed the plan to organize an autonomous Jewish State in Palestine.

TOTAL BATTLE LOSSES

GENERAL MARCH, Chief of Staff, made a statement March 1 regarding the total deaths in battle during the war, as far as then determined from official reports. His total did not take into consideration those who had died of disease, accident, or other causes than battle action, or wounds in battle. In the thirteen nations engaged in the conflict there was a total of 7,354,000 battle deaths, divided as follows:

Russia1	,700,000
Germany	,600,000
France1	,305,300
Austria	800,000
England	706,700
Italy	460,000
Turkey	250,000
Belgium	102,000
Bulgaria	100,000
Rumania	100,000
Serbia and Montenegro	100,000
United States	50,000
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LOSSES OF THE TURKISH ARMY

IT was announced on Feb. 21 that the losses of the Turkish Army from the time Turkey entered the war until the end of 1918 were 948,477—dead, wounded, prisoners, and missing—according to an official statement. The casualties were distributed as follows: Killed and died of wounds and disease—5,550 officers, 431,424 men; wounded—407,772 officers and men; prisoners and missing—3,030 officers, 100,701 men.

DISTINGUISHED SERVICE CROSSES

NENERAL MARCH made public also G a table showing the number of Distinguished Service Crosses awarded to the different divisions of the American Expeditionary Forces, which totaled 3,819. The detailed figures are: 2,942 to the infantry, 251 to the air service, 238 to the medical corps, 183 to the artillery, 149 to the engineers, 50 to the signal corps, 36 to the tank corps, and 70 to others.

The Second Regular Army Divisions received 664 crosses, the 77th 146, the 27th 139, the 1st Division 300, the 2d 233, the 26th 229, the 42d 205, the 30th 177, the 5th 163, the 29th 150, the 32d 134, the 91st 134, the 89th 97, the 78th 95.

TRANSPORTING AMERICAN TROOPS

N agreement was reached between the United States and British Governments on Feb. 17 as to the amount to be paid to Great Britain for transporting American troops to France during the war in British ships. The figure finally agreed upon was based upon the cost of transportation with no margin for profit.

General March gave the following figures on transportation of troops:

We transported up to the signing of the armistice 2,056,122 men; of those the British carried 1,047,374; American ships, 898,-449; Italian ships, 61,608, and French ships, 48,691. There have been embarked from France up to Feb. 20 for the United States 352,922 men. In that embarkation -in the return of these men-American ships have carried 245,688 men, or 70 per cent.; British, 75,174, or 21 per cent.; French, 16,368, or 5 per cent.; Italian, 8,773, and all other ships, 6,919. These figures show clearly the reversal of the problem; Great Britain's ships are now being used for their own purposes, the transportation and repatriation of their own troops, and are not at our disposal the way they were in sending the men

NEW MINISTER TO FRANCE

HUGH C. WALLACE of Tacoma, State of Washington, was appointed on Feb. 15 by President Wilson as Ambassador to France to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of William G.

birth. He was appointed by President Cleveland to be Receiver of Public Moneys of the State of Utah in 1885, at the age of 22, but held no subsequent public office. He took a prominent part in the Democratic national campaigns of 1892, 1912, and 1916; in the latter campaign he was a member of the Democratic National Committee. While officially a resident of Tacoma, he spent most of his time at Washington, D. C.

OPENING THE DARDANELLES

HE Dardanelles were thrown open to American trade on Feb. 15 for the first time since the world war began. The action was taken by the War Trade Board, following cable advices that an agreement had been reached by the Supreme Economic Council in Paris which would make such a step possible without destroying the effectiveness of the blockade of the Central Powers. Resumption of trade at the same time was authorized between the United States and Bulgaria, as well as the Turkish Empire, both in Europe and in Asia Minor.

DEATH OF SIR WILFRID LAURIER

SIR WILFRID LAURIER, ex-Premier of Canada, was stricken with paralysis Feb. 16 and died a day later at the age of 77 years. For many years he had been the recognized head of the Libertl Party, which, prior to its defeat in 1911, had held uninterrupted sway in Canada for fifteen years. He was knighted by Queen Victoria in 1897, and received many other honors. He led the fight against conscription in Canada in 1917 and was defeated.

WORLD'S SHIPPING OUTPUT

CCORDING to a British Admiralty A report issued on Feb. 20, the number of vessels launched in the United States in 1918 was higher than the whole output of this country during the ten years 1907-16, and exceeded by over 25 per cent. the combined output of the rest of the world in 1918. The total world's output for that year, exclusive of Germany Sharp. Mr. Wallace is a Missourian by and Austria-Hungary, was 1,866 merchant vessels of 5,447,444 tons. In this construction the leading nations were:

	Gross Tons.
The United States	2,382,954
United Kingdom	1,348,120
Japan	489,924
Canada	258,191
Other countries	968,255

The output of the United States was also more than three times our output in 1917; Japan's increase was nearly that; but the figures for the United Kingdom are 584,033 tons below the blueribbon year of 1913, and represent an output 25 per cent. lower than the average of the three pre-war years, 1911-13; still they are higher than the totals for the previous three years, the present total being 185,224 tons more than that for 1917 and 739,885 tons more than that for 1916.

During the five years 1894-6 the tonnage launched in the United Kingdom amounted to 74.7 per cent. of the world's total output for that period. For the fifteen years 1899-1913 the United Kingdom's share in the world output was 60 per cent. During the war, 1914-18, a very serious decrease took place, and only about 25 per cent. of the world's output was launched in the United Kingdom.

NEW EMIR OF AFGHANISTAN

SIRAJ-UL-MILLAT-WAD-DIN, Emir or Ameer of Afghanistan, was murdered while in camp at Laghman on the morning of Feb. 20. Official advices from Kabul state that an attempt was made, with evidence to warrant definite progress, to trace the crime to disappointed German agents.

The late Emir, who was born in 1872 and succeeded to the throne in 1901, was a great friend of the English. That, however, did not prevent him from receiving with open arms Lieutenant von Hentig and the German mission which came to him in the Summer of 1915. The Emir accepted money from them, but had the Germans arrested and sent to Kabul, and, as Austen Chamberlain, Secretary for India, said in the House of Commons on Nov. 29, 1916, "it would not be in the public interest to state what had become of them."

On Feb. 21 Nasrullah Kahn, the murdered man's brother, proclaimed himself ruler at Jellalabad; what has become of the natural heir, Mayatullah Kahn, is not known. Nasrullah had not up to March 17 been recognized at the capital, Kabul. The anti-British proclivities of Nasrullah would have created a serious situation in Asia had his brother been murdered during the war. This brother took but a small part of the subsidy granted him by the Indian Government, leaving it at Calcutta to be invested.

In Indian official circles it is indicated that the India Office will not intervene, whoever becomes the de facto Emir. Seventy years ago it did intervene in the contest of rival candidates to the Kabul throne, expended many lives and much treasure, and received one of the worst blows British prestige even suffered in Asia.

ESPIONAGE LAW UPHELD

THE United States District Court sustained the espionage law in the trial of Victor L. Berger, which closed at Chicago Feb. 20. Berger was a Socialist leader, and was elected to Congress from Milwaukee in 1918. He was found guilty of violating the espionage law and of conspiring to obstruct the war program of the United States. He was sentenced by Judge Landis to twenty years' imprisonment, along with four other defendants, including the Rev. Irwin St. John Tucker. The case was appealed. The prisoners were released on bond on their making a pledge that they would refrain absolutely "from doing those things and saying those things for which they had been convicted." The United States Supreme Court in a decision in February sustained the Selective Draft act and features of the espionage law.

UNITED STATES WAR CLAIMS

THE war claims of the United States against Germany were officially estimated at \$750,000,000, a sum nearly equal to the total value of German property seized in this Country by the Alien Property Custodian.

FRANCE'S BUDGET

RAOUL PERET, Chairman of the Budget Committee of the French Chamber of Deputies, in opening the discussion of the financial situation in the Chamber March 7 placed the assets of France on the coming March 31 at 159 .-000,000,000 francs and her liabilities at 181,000,000,000 francs, leaving a deficit of 22,000,000,000 francs, (\$4,400,000,000.) He estimated that the after-the-war budget would be 18,000,000,000 francs and the revenue 13,000,000,000 francs.

Louis Klotz, Minister of Finance, on March 13 discussed the financial situation. He confirmed the statement of M. Peret that the deficit to meet was over \$4,000,000,000: he stated that half of this could be met by increased direct and income taxes, and intimated that a tax on capital would be inevitable.

In consequence of the British withdrawal of the artificial support of exchange between sterling and francs there was a flurry in French finances and the franc dropped several points. The situation was serious, and there was renewed urgency that rates of exchange be internationalized so that France would not be penalized in the purchase of raw materials by unfavorable exchange rates or that the war debts of the Allies be pooled and guaranteed by an allied union.

On March 18 the franc was quoted at 5.76 to the dollar, being 15 per cent. discount below normal.

EGYPT SEEKS INDEPENDENCE

DETAILS of an attempt by Nationalists to obtain complete autonomy for Egypt were officially reported to Parliament on March 18. It was announced that last November a deputation of Egyptian Nationalists under the leadership of Said Pasha Zagloul, Vice President of the Legislative Assembly, called at the British residency to advocate a program of complete autonomy for Egypt, which would leave to Great Britain only the right of supervision in regard to the public debt and facilities for shipping in the Suez Canal.

They demanded to be allowed to proceed to London immediately in order to submit their program. At the same time the Nationalists elected a committee of fourteen leaders and commenced agitation throughout the country, collecting signatures to petitions and also subscriptions in support of their program.

Shortly afterward the Prime Minister Rouchdi Pasha, suggested that he and Adly Pasha, Minister of Education, be allowed to visit London in the immediate future in order to discuss Egyptian affairs. Rouchdi further urged that the Nationalist leaders should also be allowed a hearing in London.

This request was declined, whereupon the two Ministers resigned. They were afterward invited to come to London in February, but they declined unless the other Nationalist leaders were included. Serious obstacles were encountered in forming a new Government. and in consequence of an attempt at coercion the British Government deported the Vice President of the Assembly and three other leaders to Malta. Demonstrations and riots followed in Cairo, Tanta, and other Egyptian cities; six persons were killed and thirty-one wounded in the fighting at Cairo; at Tanta the casualties were eleven killed and forty-one wounded. It was announced on March 14 that order had been restored.

AMERICAN ARMY STRENGTH

THE strength of the American Army on March 15 was 2,268,537, a decrease of 1.402.351 since the signing of the armistice. A War Department statement reported 1,508,133 officers and men, exclusive of 24,000 marines, in Europe-France, Germany, and Russia. In the United States there were 640,013 and at sea 64,203. The force in Siberia numbered 8.970, with 47.218 in the insular possessions.

A total of 470,736 officers and men of the American Expeditionary Force had sailed for home up to March 13. That number represented 24 per cent. of the strength of General Pershing's forces on Nov. 11 and left 1,478,580 in France.

Of the total returned home or on the way 176,516 were casuals, including sick and wounded. Of 687,074 infantry in France in November, only 89,494 had been returned, while field artillery figures showed 73,058 sent home out of 213,846.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING FOR SOLDIERS IN AUSTRALIA

THE Australian Cabinet on March 18 approved a plan for the expenditure of \$6,500,000 in the extension of vocational training to returning soldiers who were under 20 years of age at the time of enlistment. An earlier scheme for vocational training applied only to those who had no trade before the war. It is estimated that the cost of training and sustenance will be about \$750 a man. It is believed that only about half of the 17,000 Australians eligible will take advantage of the plan, which is to extend over three years.

GERMAN AUSTRIA'S ASSEMBLY

THE Austrian elections were held on Feb. 15 with 4,000,000 men and women participating. The result of the elections was a sweeping victory for the Socialists, who obtained 70 delegates, as against 64 Christian Socialists, 73 of various groups, 3 candidates of the Styrian Peasants' League, 1 Czech, and 1 German. A public meeting was held on the 19th in Vienna, in which 20,000 Socialist soldiers took part. The question of the republican form of government having been thus decided, the subject of union with Germany came again to the fore. Despite the warning of Count Czernin on Feb. 20 that Austria could afford to defer her decision on this momentous question, it was announced on March 5 that Dr. Otto Bauer, Foreign Minister, had begun negotiations with Germany looking to such a union.

The National Constituent Assembly met in Vienna on March 4. The Assembly elected Karl Seitz, leader of the Social Democracy in Austria, President, and Herr Hauser, Social Democrat, Vice President. Delegates to the number of 225 began the work of providing what is left of the German part of the old Dual Monarchy with a Constitution and set of basic laws. At this first session all the deputies expressed approval of the projected union with Germany. The Presi-

dent, addressing the Assembly in favor of such a union, said: "The Entente cannot limit the right of free disposition which undoubtedly is ours." The Constitution of German Austria, which was under discussion, provides for a Chancellor of State and two departmental Secretaries. The Departments of Foreign Affairs, the Army, Food, and Traffic, according to the program, would perform their functions "only until union with Germany is accomplished." The Cabine was to be formed by the Social Democrats and Christian Socialists, the German Nationalists having declined places in it.

South German Tyrol, the Vienna newspapers stated, had applied for union with German Austria. All the Danube shipping companies were to be fused into one international company, largely financed by British capital. Food relief was to be distributed by the Allies, the Supreme War Council having created Herbert Hoover in effect Director General of the Austrian railway system: the relief trains were to run over all lines without political or military interference The necessity and urgency of such relief. which had been brought to the attention of the Allies on Feb. 20 by a German Austrian delegation to Paris, were again emphasized on March 14 by a report of Sir William Beveridge, the British representative on the Interallied Commission investigating food conditions in German Austria, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia; this report recommended relaxation of war rigor in Austria, as the plight of the Austrian people was desperate.

GENERAL SIXT VON ARNIM KILLED

I'T was announced March 17 that General Count Sixt von Arnim, who commanded on army bracketed with the Fourth under the Duke of Württemberg in the Flanders campaigns of 1915-17, had been beaten to death by peasants at Asch, Bohemia. It was said that General von Arnim shot at peasants gathering firewood on his property and that the mob invaded and pillaged his château after killing him.

Asch is the most western community in Bohemia, and one of the most beautiful, being situated on the uplands in the angle of the frontiers of Saxony and Bavaria, the mountains of the Erz Gebirge and the Böhmer Wald. All this country has been made known to American readers through the late Count's English kinswoman, the Countess Augusta von Arnim (née Beauchamp,) in her books "Elizabeth and her German Garden," and "The Solitary Summer."

* * * REVOLT IN HUNGARY

IN Budapest a Communist revolt broke out quite unexpectedly, according to a dispatch of Feb. 22, under the leadership of Germans and Russians. President Karolyi (elected Jan. 11) at once called his Cabinet together and proclaimed martial law. The revolt was crushed. On the 23d the people of Budapest, infuriated by this attack upon public order, lynched Bela Kun, the leader of the revolt. On March 8 the formation of a

new Hungarian army was announced, to be made up of six divisions of volunteers.

FRENCH IN SUBURBS OF FRANKFORT

IN consequence of the unrest in the industrial regions of Bavaria both the British and the French advanced their bridgeheads on March 15. The French advanced to the suburbs of Frankfort and the British into the Westphalian district, between Elberfeld and Düsseldorf.

HAIG LEAVES FRANCE

FIELD MARSHAL SIR DOUGLAS HAIG was appointed March 14 to succeed General Sir William R. Robertson as Commander in Chief of the home forces in England. General Robertson is to be Commander in Chief of the Army of the Rhine.

Activities of the Lesser Belligerents

A Historical Review of Conditions During the Four Weeks Ended March 19, 1919

[PERIOD COVERED FEB. 16 TO MARCH 19, 1919]

BELGIUM

BELGIUM during this period was slowly adjusting itself to postbellum conditions. The jubilation over the armistice, which had a beneficial economic effect by placing in active circulation a large amount of money, gradually gave way to normal habits. Belgium's territorial claims upon the Netherlands, including the southern littoral of the Scheldt, were less acrimoniously conducted by the press.

Of the credit of \$22,000,000 obtained from the United States \$10,000,000 was to be spent for army clothing and food, and \$12,000,000 for feeding the population, of whom there were 2,300,000 still destitute. The total number of consumers was 8,000,000, including 220,000 soldiers still in the ranks.

Belgium's chief needs were factory machinery of varous sorts, farm implements, raw materials, and cattle. She began negotiating with the Netherlands for the last, but as 100 tons of coal were demanded for every three cows, little progress was made.

Much satisfaction was expressed by the press over the act of the Commission on Belgian Affairs advising the Council of the five great powers on March 7 that the three treaties of 1839, establishing the status of Belgium and Holland, be revised as they are now "useless and disadvantageous to Belgium." These treaties are identical except as to their signatories. Belgium and Holland signed one with Great Britain, France, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, three of which

powers have since disappeared. On March 12 Premier Delacroix announced in the Brussels Chamber of Deputies that the Council had decided to revise the treaties.

M. Cooremans, first secretary of the Minister of Arts and Sciences, was condemned to fifteen years forced labor by a court-martial. He accepted, on the invitation of Berlin, during the period of occupation, the post of chief secretary to the separatist Flemish Ministry.

In the Senate, also on March 12, the Premier took umbrage at the criticisms some of the Senators had made concerning the alleged indifference of the Allies

to Belgium. He said:

"When we shall have fully computed the exact amount of our damages there is every reason to believe that the figure will be accepted. Even though the total indemnity Germany must pay be reduced, you may be sure that the reduction will not be at the expense of Belgium."

PORTUGAL

The end of the Royalist revolt in Portugal was noted in these columns last month. It was reported (March 3) that its picturesque and romantic leader, Henrique de Paiva Couceiro, had committed suicide. Why the revolt failed is now being feverishly discussed by the Portuguese press and in such an open manner that it precludes the idea that the failure will be followed by reprisals.

The late Royalist Civil Governor of Oporto, Count de Mongualde, stated that the failure was due to a lack of arms and munitions. Count d'Azavedo, who for two weeks held the Royalist portfolio of Agriculture, said it was due to a lack of men. Mongualde wrote:

It was when we failed to take Lisbon that I knew the game was up. Two days before the end came I told Colonel Paiva Couceiro that it was all up with us, and he agreed. What settled our fate was the desertion of the Republican Guard, which had become our Guarda Real. When the Guard and the cavalry attacked us, I telephoned to headquarters for assistance, and prepared to resist; but no help came, and soon a message advised me to hoist the white flag. This was repugnant to me, but when the Republican officer guaranteed my personal security and that of

my followers, I consented. Now, I demand that this guarantee be respected.

D'Azavedo reported:

The Monarchists had sufficient arms and munitions, and hoped to obtain recognition as belligerents. The difficulty was that they had only from 7,000 to 8,000 troops armed. Oporto and the north were whole-heartedly Monarchist.

While the Royalist leaders were in jail the Republican Minister of Justice reassured them in the following proclamation:

The Government will liquidate as rapidly as possible the individual responsibilities of the accused persons in order to restore a normal condition without any unnecessary delay. The Portuguese Criminal Code does not admit of imprisonment or deportation for life, but only for a term not exceeding 30 years.

* * * Monarchist prisoners are being treated in conformity with the dictates of humanity, and if there is anything wanting, the fault lies in the fact that we have not sufficient accommodations to give the prisoners every convenience.

TURKEY

What seemed to be passing in political and social Constantinople took little note of what occurred in remote parts of the dominions of the Turks or reckoned how the puzzling questions in those parts might be adjusted at the Paris Peace Conference. The burning question at the capital among the leaders and the rank and file of all the political parties seemed to be how they could wash their hands of the stains of the atrocities committed against the Greeks and Armenians, and retain the booty, both human and material, of which they robbed them, as well as the bribes received from the Germans.

Mohammed VI. rid himself of Enver Pasha and Talaat Bey, placing the aged Tewfik Pasha back in power as Grand Vizier and by a coup d'état backed up by French and English bayonets dissolved Parliament on the eve of a reactionary coup projected by the Young Turks, whose political organization is better known as the Committee of Union and Progress.

On March 7 a third stroke swept away from the responsible Government all old men, all old influences, whether progressive or reactionary, and established a new Cabinet with Damad Pasha as Grand Vizier and Foreign Secretary, and the following:

Sheik-ul-Islam-Mustapha Sabri Effendi. Minister of War-Ahmed Abouk Pasha. Minister of the Interior-Djemed Bey. Minister of Marine-Shakri Pasha. Minister of Finance-Tewfik Bey. Minister of Education-Ali Kemal Bey. Minister of Posts and Telegraphs-Mehmed Ali Bev.

Minister of Agriculture-Edhem Bey. Minister of Justice-Ismail Ildke Bey. President of the Council of State-Abdul-

Munister of Public Works-Avni Pasha.

hadu Effendi.

The dissolution of Parliament was made necessary by the fact that the Entente had refused to have any dealings with its representatives, and the new election which then became necessary must be conducted by a Government which had the approval of the Entente, even though its claim to popular representation still had to be decided at the polls.

The new Government at once set to work and both General Allenby, the conqueror of Palestine, and General Franchet d'Esperey, the conqueror of Bulgaria and the Commander in Chief of the allied forces in European Turkey, were present at the inauguration on March 5. The first work that Damad Pasha, through Djemed Bey, set out to accomplish was to remove over 500 officials which Tewfik Pasha had inherited from the old régime and which continued to be the chief vehicle of reactionary propaganda under the new.

The ousting of these officials cleared the air. A score or so were Under Secretaries of State who were busily engaged in preparing the defense of the "men higher up" against the charges being formulated by the allied commis-Among the dossiers thus interrupted was one being prepared by Ikmet Bey, Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, to show that the Armenians themselves were responsible for the troubles in Armenia, their Revolutionary Committees having been invited to massacre the Turks by Russian and English agents. The naïveté of the documents is revealed in one instance by references to "the savagery of Lord Kitchener in "Lower Egypt, dramatic events in India, "the extermination of the brave Boers, "and the massacres of the unfortunate "Irish, whose situation is just as un-"fortunate as that of the Armenians."

Another document which came to light and bore, according to experts, the signs of being a forgery was "A Treaty Between Turkey and Georgia," said to have been signed in September, 1914, by which treaty Georgia, "having been generously promised by Turkey to support her claims to independence," undertook:

1. To organize a Georgian legion to fight on the side of the Turks.

2. To aid Turkish troops and to assure them a friendly reception in Georgia.

3. To facilitate the transportation and concentration of Turkish troops during the military operations.

Turkish financial history, under the guidance of Western Europe, has drifted through two stages, and is now on the eve of a third and apparently final one. The first stage opened with the Crimean War, in the 50s, and lasted for about twenty years, until the bankruptcy of 1876. It was one of complete freedom, both of borrowing and spending European money, which was devoted mainly to amusement. Its visible traces still survive in the marble palaces of succeeding Sultans on the Bosporus. Then came the "Bismarckian stage," one of restricted borrowing and spending, the money being mainly used for the development of the Turkish Army and strategic railways -all an immediate sequel to the Berlin Congress of 1878, where Russia was robbed of her spoils of war. During this period Germany was the financial agent, but the money she used was French and English. During the first two years of the war this money flowed back to Germany in payment for war supplies, and, when there was no more, Germany flooded the country with paper money, based upon specie loans which, however, never materially left the German Imperial

Djavid Bey had a scheme for redeeming this paper: Either the Entente or the United States, or both, were to grant Turkey a credit of \$500,000,000. He argued that the associated nations would run no risk, as they always had the means of enforcing payment from Germany, that the investment would be a good one, as they would obtain \$850,000,-000 worth of paper money for \$500,000,-000 in cash, and besides would have the satisfaction of knowing that they had rehabilitated Turkey commercially, industrially, and financially. The Young Turks had so much faith in the success of this project that their leaders, the discharged officials, even put on record what they intended to do with the money after they got it. It would have been used for revolutionary purposes. Hence a sharp watch is being kept over the retained clerks of Djavid's administration as they clear up their accounts under the eyes of the French, British, and Greek auditors.

The political line of cleavage reveals the committee on one side and the anticommittee on the other. But the latter is much stronger than it was in 1912, and Ahmed Riza, one of the founders of the committee, when it established a Parliamentary Government and overthrew Abdul Hamid a year later, is now one of its most bitter opponents. Aside from the two principal groups there are innumerable factions and leagues, all concerned with separate economic, ethnic, civic, and even personal interests.

One faction may serve as an example for all: The "Party of the Principles of President Wilson" is bidding especially for America's support in the regeneration of Turkey. It is composed of Dönmés (crypto-Jews) and others who until three months ago were either notorious as Germanophiles or as Neo-Turanians. Its principal organ, Vakit, advocates a purely Turkish Armenia on the principle of self-determination and by classing all Kurds, Lazzes, and Circassians as "Turks." Even so this majority is massacre-made.

SYRIA

While the problematical status of Syria was unfolded at the Peace Conference—the claims of the King of the Hedjaz as submitted by his son, the protectorate asserted by France and Great Britain, and the zones of influence demanded by Italy and Greece, and finally the aspirations of the Zionists—little has come to light as to what is going on in

the country itself. In Syria there are three great forces at work: The propaganda carried on by native Syrians educated in the French-subsidized schools. principally Roman Catholic, for a French protectorate, (ever since the days of Napoleon French influence has been the guiding culture;) the propaganda of the Arabs among the Jews and Syrians, teaching the former that they owe their industrial independence, and the latter that they owe their regeneration as Moslems, to Hedjaz; the propaganda of "New Syria," which desires an autonomous State under the protection of the American Government.

The first two would welcome the Zionists and allow them industrial and even political communal rights—an expansion of the rights which many Jewish communities enjoyed under the Turkish régime. But the New Syrians are for "Syria for the Syrians," and their propaganda is conducted by several highly educated natives on historical, neo-ethnic, and literary grounds. A few extracts from their propaganda bulletins reveal how they regard the Zionist movement:

Zionism to the Syrian is a vital economic and political danger which threatens to drive him from his home, and which runs directly against his national aspirations. * * * It is an effort to settle in a country already settled and develop a country already developed or being developed by the people themselves. * * * We do not object to a Jew coming to Syria to become a Syrian and to adopt the Arabic language and observe the laws of the country. We do not object to a Jew emigrating to Palestine for natural economic reasons. We object strongly, however, to a Jew backed up by a corporation which has a permanent fund, (the Jewish National Fund, an English corporation,) which will give him an unfair advantage over the native Syrian; which will buy and improve the land for him and then sell it to him on the condition that he will not sell it again, because, they affirm, such a land is a permanent unalienable inheritance for all Jewry.

GEORGIA

The Republic of Georgia in Transcaucasia established a bureau of information in Berne, Switzerland. The first phases of its propaganda were to rectify certain misstatements in regard to the republic which had gone forth through "irresponsible news bureaux, whose agents are either unconsciously ignorant of facts or in the pay of the imperial or Solshevist interests."

The republic wishes to go on record as having declined to take part in the Pan-Russian Convention at the Princes' Islands, not because it was not in sympathy with the endeavors of the Paris Peace Conference to restore law and order in Russia, but because it no longer considered itself a part of that empire, but a fully independent State conscious of its proclaimed and established rights.

In regard to the alleged treaty between Georgia and Turkey said to have been found in the archives of Talaat Bey in Constantinople by the High Commission of the Allies, Constantin J. Djakelly, in denying its authenticity, demonstrates for the first time what the Georgians have done in the great war:

The Georgians have fought on all Russian fronts in a greater proportion to their number than that of any other nationality save perhaps Serbia. Georgian public opinion has well understood the meaning of this war and the principles involved, and it was a Georgian leader-Tsrethelli -who, after his return from Siberia during the first months of the revolution, visited the Russian western front and, as you perhaps recollect, appealed to the Russian armies to continue to fight, warning them and the revolutionaries that the conclusion of a separate peace with Germany would mean a great blow to the cause of mankind and an irreparable disaster for Russia.

As to Georgia's relationship with Turkey, it was the unfortunate lot of Georgia to have to fight this restive and insatiable neighbor for many centuries from the very day they approached her Besides having frontiers until today. sent regular soldiers to fight the enemies of the Entente on different fronts, Georgia formed a legion of volunteers, not to fight on the side of the Turks, but against the Turks, and the legion fought so well that its commander, Sub-Lieut. Prince Nijaradze, was made Colonel by the late Emperor Nicholas and attached to the person of the Grand Duke Nicholas.

After the signature of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, when a great majority of the Georgian regular soldiers were still scattered along the Russian western front, before they had time to return to Georgia, that country had to continue to fight the Turks, and did it as well as she could, and, in spite of insufficient arms and ammunition, she prevented further penetration of the Turkish Army in Georgian territory.

One of the first acts of the Georgian Government was to issue a proclamation saying that Georgia had three enemies the Bolsheviki, the Turks, and the antirevolutionists.

After the dissolution of the Russian Empire and the failure of the Kerensky Government to keep it together five independent States were formed in the southeast: The Republic of the Cossacks of the Caucasus, the Union of the Circassians and Daghestani, and the Republics of Georgia, Tartar, and Armenia. Georgia occupies the centre of Transcaucasia-the basins of the Koura, the Rion, and the Tchorok, and the littoral of the Black Sea, being composed of the former Russian Governments, or provinces, of Tiflis, Koutafs, Batoum, and the districts of Zakatala, Soukhoum, and Ardahan-Olty. The territory claimed by the republic includes about 85,000 square miles and a population of 3,400,000, 75 per cent. of whom are Georgians.

Georgia is essentially an agricultural community. Its farmers, trained in the discipline of old Russia, have driven out the Bolsheviki and tamed the Turks. It has hopes of a great harvest, but it needs immediately agricultural implements to gather it. "In a word," one of its official manifestoes closes, "Georgia is becoming more and more a radical peasant and bourgeoise republic, and its methods can be studied with profit by the Muscovites of the north who are now in the throes of anarchy and bloodshed."

ALBANIA

Fear that Albania may be lost sight of in the reconstruction of the Balkans, and particularly in the way the frontiers of Greece and Serbia are to be reconstructed, and the rights of the Italians on the eastern littoral of the Adriatic adjusted, has inspired renewed efforts for national recognition on the part of the de facto Albanian Government, which is represented in America by the Pan-Albanian Federation.

In one of the recent manifestoes issued by its organ Vatra (The Hearth) it proves that the old feudal system has entirely passed away, and all Albanians, whatever be their religion, earnestly hope for a modern, stable Government, which shall give them security and the opportunities for progress:

There are about 70,000 Albanians in the United States. A large per cent. of them are now serving in the American Army here or in France. Their most important national organization is the Albanian Federation of America, Vatra, with its headquarters in Boston. Through this organization they have bought Liberty bonds of the third issue to the amount of nearly a million dollars.

The recognized and trusted leader of the Albanians is his Excellency Melmed Bey Konitza, who is representing the Albanian Federation of America and London. The Albanians are the most ancient race of Europe. They are the direct descendants of the old Illyrians and Macedonians, who conquered the east under Alexander the Great and defeated Rome under their King Pyrhus. In the Middle Ages of the second century B. C. they passed under Roman domination and gave to the Roman Empire some of its most famous Emperors, like Constantine the Great, Diocletian, Julian, Marcus Aurelius, and Justinian. After the disruption of the Roman Empire they regained their independence and preserved it until the end of the fifteenth century A. D. When the Turks swept over the Balkan Peninsula the national hero of the Albanians, King George Castriot Scanderbeg, fought against them for over a quarter of a century, defeated them in more than twenty battles and saved Europe from the horrors of Asiatic invasion. After his death, in 1468, Albania became nominally a province of Turkey until 1913. The history of Albania under Turkish domination is a long record of bloodshed and revolutions. In 1912, after a successful revolution, the Albanians obtained their autonomy from Turkey. In 1913, after the Balkan wars, the London Conference granted them national independence under a Prince selected by the great powers of

The frontiers of the new Albanian State as drawn by the London Conference did not satisfy the Albanians at all. Large portions of purely Albanian districts were carved off and bestowed on Greece, Montenegro, and Serbia, who insisted on partitioning Albania among themselves. When the European war broke out they carried out their criminal plan: Greece occupied Central Albania, Montenegro occupied Northern Albania, and Serbia occupied Central Albania. In the Fall of 1915 the Austro-Germans drove out the Serbians and the Montenegrins from Northern and Central Albania, while the

Italians and the French drove out the Greeks from Southern Albania. The Albanians greeted the French and the Italians as liberators, for Southern Albania, was devastated beyond recognition by the soldiery of the pro-German King, Constantine.

BULGARIA

Aside from an attempt to set the country right in the eyes of the world Bulgaria is making a bid for the territory which would have been hers had the terms of the 1913 treaties with Serbia and Greece been carried out. She makes this bid on the ground of nationality. She registers all people of Thrace and Macedonia as Bulgars, who belong to the Orthodox Church, on the ground that this Church, as directed from Sofia, formed the sole educational and moral influence in the contested lands long before they were taken from the Turk.

The whole question of religion is assuming such an important feature in the settlement of political and territorial controversy, not only in the Balkans but in Asia Minor, which is related to the Peninsula by religious bonds of various sorts, Christian and Moslem, that the appended authoritative statement by a high disinterested ecclesiastical authority will be found to be apropos:

Just previous to the forming of the earlier league church unity was agreed to, but the second war that broke up the league released old hatreds, and national churches have been seen further apart than ever. Premier Venizelos has the misfortune, it is said, of not being identifed with the church party in Athens. In making up his new Cabinet the other day, however, he put in some strong men, two at least, who are close to church affairs. Their selection is said to have been in part due to church influ-

All of the Balkan nations have Eastern Orthodox Churches that are in more or less sympathy with the Russian Church, but in Bulgaria the church is wholly independent of all others. It is known as the Church of Bulgaria, and has 4,500,000 members. Churches of other Balkan States, the dominant bodies, are more closely allied and related to the Patriarch of Constantinople. The Greek Church is under the Metropolitan of Athens. In Asia Minor there is the Patriarch of Antioch, with a Christian population under him of about 8,000,000.

Roman Catholics have throughout the Balkans. Although both churches are Catholic, they set up altar against altar, as the ecclesiastics say. That is, both Catholic churches go into the same cities and towns and there maintain opposing churches. Just now the Episcopal Church in this country is in a red-hot controversy on this same question.

The Armenian Church, with 3,750,000 communicants, has its official head in a monastery in Armenia, Asia Minor, but its members are scattered throughout the Balkans. Those in Armenia have been suffering many hardships from murder up to within the past few years. Word reaching the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions in New York is to the effect that every cruelty that men can think of has been visited upon Armenian Christians by the Turks. Even the American missionaries have suffered.

Vast numbers of the priests of all of these churches are in the armies, and others are doing relief work. The latter is reduced to a minimum through lack of funds. From missionaries of these bodies working here it is learned that Premier Venizelos has more religious difficulties than in ordinary times, since the people in the war are more religious than in peace. Missionaries here say that soldiers at mass, shown in the military illustrations published in The Asti, are good signs, since it is probably the first time these men have heard mass for years. So far as known, the Roman Catholics in these Balkan countries are giving no trouble, but the Armenians, and especially the national churches in Rumania, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Greece are adding to the difficulties of the Balkan Premiers and Parliaments.

RUMANIA

Gratitude toward the Entente seemed to increase in Rumania with time, while there is no anger expressed toward the Russians for their betrayal of 1916, and only the most profound sympathy felt for their plight. The Government expects to realize all the territory allotted to it by the treaty with the Entente of 1916, except possibly the Banat, which it is ready to share with Serbia, as the geographical line between the two nationalities is quite marked.

In spite of official denials stories of revolts in Rumania continued to be sent out by Vienna and Berlin. The last example came on Feb. 23 from Vienna when it was stated that Queen Mary, fearing a revolution, had fled from Bucharest. A few days later her Majesty was interviewed in Paris and expressed ignorance of any impending revolution. She said that the wants of her people had always been few and that they looked forward to a time of ever-augmenting prosperity. "Nor," she added, "are they the stuff of which Bolsheviki are made."

Political reforms are making slow progress, for the reason that the qualification of property and profession is so interwoven in suffrage that it is difficult to extract it. So far, however, there is a project of law which purports to place all foreigners on an equal basis with common qualifications for naturalization. The remonstrance of the Jews has been that in order to be naturalized each petition for citizenship must be individually presented to the Parliament, where discrimination was often exercised against them in granting it, and that this qualification is a shrewd trick to perpetuate the loss of their civil rights, and at the same time leave the impression that Rumania is removing religious discriminations.

GREECE

The Asti of Athens printed an interview with Premier Venizelos, sent from Paris, which was intended to clear up some apprehensions felt in Greece in regard to the future of Constantinople. Part of it read:

There are two solutions before the Peace Conference, each possible of adoption. But in all probability the entire question will go over to the League of Nations, which could intrust a single nation with the control of Constantinople and the straits, which, together, would be formed into a separate administrative zone, or the League itself could administer it, appointing a Governor for that purpose who might hold office for five years.

But whatever solution be adopted, one thing is certain—the Sultan mus. go. He can make his capital Konia or Broussa, but he must not stay in Constantinople. Even if he were deprived of the Caliphate, which the creation of the Kingdom of Hedjaz renders extremely likely, he would be able still to be a source of trouble to us all—to all the powers, like France and England, which have large Moslem populations—if it were allowed to remain in Constantinople.

It is very important that he should be removed now by the Peace Conference while sitting in Paris, for it is necessary to make it clear to all the world that Turkey is losing her capital, in which as you know the Turks form a minority, as the direct result of having entered the war. Turkey chose to be Germany's ally and must pay the penalty of Germany's defeat.

SERBIA

On Feb. 25 the Serbian Government borrowed \$15,000,000 from the United States, making \$27,000,000 so borrowed in all. The press was divided between the idea of a greater Serbia, as formulated at Corfu in July, 1917, and a comprehensive Jugoslavia, as formulated at Agram since the armistice. Both parties interpret in their respective favor the note sent Dr. Trumbitch, as "Minister of Foreign Affairs of Serbia," by Secretary Lansing in February, the full text

of which appeared in La Serbie on Feb. 17 as follows:

My Dear Dr. Trumbitch: I have the pleasure to communicate the text of the note which the Government of the United States has decided to publish tomorrow:

"On May 29, 1918, the Government of the United States expressed its sympathy for the national aspirations of the Jugoslav races, and on June 28 it declared that all Slav people ought to be completely liberated from the yoke of Austria-Ger-

"After having extracted themselves from foreign oppression, the Jugoslavs, who were formerly under the rule of Austria-Hungary, have, on several occasions, expressed the desire to unite with Serbia. On its side the Serbian Government has publicly and officially accepted the union of the Serb, Croat, and Slovene peoples.

"Consequently, the Government of the United States favorably accepts this union, but at the same time recognizes the fact that the final settlement of the frontiers must be left to the Peace Conference, in conformity with the wishes of the interested peoples."

American Problems of Reconstruction

Bridging the Transition Period From War Activities to Peace Conditions

[PERIOD ENDED MARCH 15, 1919]

HE cessation of hostilities brought in its train a host of problems that demanded the utmost care and wisest statesmanship for their solution. The American war machine had been geared to high speed and had to be slowed down gradually if disaster were to be averted in social and economic spheres. Most pressing of all the questions that taxed the activities of the Government was that of demobilizing the army and assuring the reabsorption of its units into the body politic without too great derangement of business conditions.

The progress made in demobilization was shown by an official report of the office of the U. S. Chief of Staff, issued Feb. 24, which included the following facts:

Reports show that, according to the

latest data on hand, the following discharges of officers and men have been accomplished. Discharges from returned overseas contingents are included.

Officers	
Total number of officers, resigned	
or discharged	74,313
==	====
Enlisted Men	
Discharges up to and including Feb.	
8, 1919	72,753
Discharges for week ended Feb. 15,	
1919	68,756
Early returns week ended Feb. 22,	
1919	23,009
Total	84 519
=:	====
Total discharges, officers and en-	
listed mon 16	20 621

The War Department issued a further report on March 15 stating that the total number of officers and men demobilized had then reached 1,419,386, and that dis-

charge orders had been issued for a total of 1,678,500.

General Pershing notified the War Department Feb. 25 that "divisions now in the American Expeditionary Forces, excepting those with regular army designations," would be returned to the United States in the order of the arrival of their respective divisional headquarters in France. This was interpreted as meaning that all divisions except the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th would be returned as shipping was available.

Combat troops not assigned to divisions were to be returned in the order in which their services could be spared, and a similar policy was adopted regarding service of supply troops, except that as far as possible these also were to be returned in the order of arrival in France.

General Pershing said he estimated the movement of troops, based on tonnage known to be available and on the German shipping soon to become available, as follows:

March, 212,000; April, 221,000; May, 248,000; June, 207,000, a total of 888,000 men.

ARMY DEATHS

A statement from the War Department, under date of Feb. 24, revealed that deaths from all causes in the American Expeditionary Forces and among troops in the United States during the war numbered 107,444.

The total in the Expeditionary Forces was 72,951. Of these 20,829 resulted from disease, 48,768 from injuries received in battle, and 3,354 from all other causes.

Deaths from disease among the troops in the United States totaled 32,737 and from other causes 1,756, giving a total for the troops in this country of 34,493.

The figures for the American Expeditionary Forces cover the period from April 1, 1917, to Feb. 16, 1919. Those for the troops in the United States from April 1, 1917, to Feb. 14, 1919.

The figures show that the total deaths from disease exceeded the total battle casualties by more than 5,000.

Persistent reports had been for some time in circulation that conditions at the American debarkation camp at Brest, France, were insanitary and intolerable. In answer to these the following cable-gram from General Pershing was published by General Peyton C. March, United States Chief of Staff, Feb. 23:

Under date of Feb. 12 The New York Evening Telegram sent a cablegram to President Wilson, as follows:

"Hundreds of complaints have been made to The Evening Telegram of the conditions at the United States camp at Brest. Soldiers from the front and Red Cross nurses practically held prisoners. If they complain are put at bottom of sailing list. Wounded and ill forced to stand in rain hours for meals. Officers overbearing and harsh, and give casuals no consideration. Roofs of buildings leak, barracks filthy, mud everywhere. Can you not inspect camp and remedy abuses costing lives of many American soldiers, or have camp abolished?"

The President sent me the above cable-gram and directed me to have a report made on the matter to the Secretary of War. The following is a summary of report of conditions at Brest just received from Major Gen. Eli A. Helmick, Inspector General's Department, A. E. F., commanding there:

"The charge that soldiers from the front and Red Cross nurses practically held priscners absolutely groundless. No individual has been put at the bottom of the sailing list. One organization was held fifteen days on account of bad state of discipline and neglect of duty, and was released before expiration of time set on account of honest efforts made to correct deficiencies. No man of the garrison of more than 60,000 is required to remain Troops are in line over ten minutes. marched to meals by time schedules, and the entire garrison is fed within one hour and fifteen minutes.

"Relative to officers overbearing and harsh and give casuals no consideration, all commanding officers of troops and casual officers passing through here have, almost without exception, voluntarily and without solicitation visited my office before leaving and have expressed their appreciation both verbally and in writing for the uniform courtesy and great consideration shown them by all officers on duty at this base section. With the exception of a newspaper reporter by the name of Brown of Washington (D. C.) paper, every newspaper man that has visited Brest has become an ardent advocate of the organization, efficiency and human kindness in common at the railroad station, at camp, at the embarkation office, at the pier, and in all offices in Base Section No. 5. Inspections of buildings are made daily, and only in rare instances are leaks discovered during the

hardest wind and rain storms. In every instance the leaks are immediately repaired, usually before the occupants have had time to report them. As relates to mud everywhere, this is the rainy season. Footpaths and roads were muddy for a time, due to conditions over which no man had control. Even this has been met by laying approximately forty miles of boardwalks along the roadside throughout the camp, to storehouses, to incinerators, to laundries, to delousing plants, to mess halls, and along highways.

CAN FEED 50,000 IN AN HOUR

"Thousands of cubic yards of crushed stone have been laid and rolled, so that one may walk over the camp without stepping in the mud. Sheds and messes have been built at the railroad station to serve 50,000 men within an hour after arrival, both day and night. These are located conveniently near the docks, in order to also serve troops embarking in Inclosed buildings case of necessity. and restrooms furnished with heating facilities, such as stoves and open fireplaces, with attractive decorations, have been provided at the docks, and are being managed by the Red Cross, assisted by commissioned and enlisted details from the army. These facilities are provided with chairs, writing tables, music, light refreshments, benches, and will accommodate 4,000 men. A neat and attractive building has been provided as an infirmary at dock, to which ambulances have access under cover. Sick and wounded are provided with covers from infirmary to hospital boat, which is inclosed and heated. Sick and wounded are removed from hospital to hospital train or ships under cover.

"Major Gen. Eli A. Helmick quotes the following newspaper men as having no criticisms to make, but much to praise relative to conditions at Brest: Mr. Mellett of The United Press, David Lawrence, Tiffany Blake, Mr. Amond of The Chicago Tribune, and Raymond Carroll of The Philadelphia Public Ledger.

"Charles M. Schwab went over the entire camp at Pontanazen and made the statement that it is one of the best examples of good organization and efficient operation that he had ever observed, and expressed his intention of reporting the improvements observed on returning to the United States. Mr. Schwab was asked by a newspaper man present if he objected to being quoted as having made such a statement, to which he replied that he had no objection. A report on health conditions at Brest has already been cabled you.

"PERSHING."

Failure of Congress to make financial provision for the maintenance of the

United States Employment Service caused Secretary of Labor Wilson to issue, on March 13, an order for an immediate cut of 80 per cent. in that service.

The cut was so made as to preserve a skeleton organization which would enable the Employment Service to continue to direct the national efforts to place soldiers and civilian workers in employment and to centralize the activities of other Government agencies, welfare organizations, and other bodies interested in employment.

While the regular branch offices of the United States Employment Service, now numbering about 750, must be reduced to 56, the 2.000 emergency bureaus for returning soldiers and sailors and the representatives of the United States Employment Service in the demobilization camps will be continued. The 56 remaining employment offices will be located at strategic industrial centres in which the employment problem is most complicated, while the special soldiers' bureaus already for the most part are financed by local funds. Because of the necessity, it was anticipated that many of the 700 regular employment offices which could no longer be financed by the Employment Service would be continued by the communities in which they are located.

The United States Employment Service has been placing returning soldiers and war workers since the signing of the armistice at a rate of approximately 100,000 a week. About 75 per cent. of the discharged soldiers who have needed assistance in finding new employment have been placed by the service.

DEMOTION OF GENERALS

Demobilization of the army from November to March resulted in the elimination of seventy-six general officers. Further demobilization in immediate prospect will cancel the wartime rank of an additional 203 general officers, leaving only 125 men in the grade of Brigadier General and above out of the 404 who were on duty when the armistice was signed. Only sixty-one permanent general officers are authorized.

The majority of those affected by demobilization are regular army men who held commissions as general officers for war purposes only.

The table of expected strength shows six Lieutenant Generals. It was explained at the War Department that this was founded on the terms of the bill for reorganization of the army reported by the House Military Committee which provided for five corps commanders with the rank of Lieutenant General and a Chief of Staff of the same rank, doing away completely with the rank of General on the active list.

PROGRAM FOR LOWER PRICES

Secretary of Commerce Redfield presented on Feb. 23 a proposal for a cooperative movement to which the Government, capital, and labor should be parties, which he felt would aid in the stabilization of prices and the relief of distress which faced many employers and employes as a result of the sudden termination of the war.

The program which Mr. Redfield put forward did not call for the exercise of mandatory price-fixing power upon either raw or finished materials by the Government, but looked forward to the extension of Government influence in connection with price-fixing in so far as a price agreed upon voluntarily by Government and industry might be made to affect the market through the Government's purchases for its own needs.

The theory of this proposal was that prices of raw materials and later of the finished products which reach the consumer would be brought down from the inflated wartime values to something more like a normal level, and that in the course of such readjustment all interests, including capital and labor, would be protected from a crash in values which would involve widespread suffering and discontent among the workingmen and the closing of many industries.

The announcement showed that the Government's participation in the movement was to be vested primarily in what was to be known as "The Industrial Board of the Department of Commerce," to the Chairmanship of which Mr. Red-

field already had appointed George N. Peck of Moline, Ill., formerly Vice Chairman of the now extinct War Industries Board, who also was head of its raw material division. It was the theory of the backers of the movement that the decisions of the Government in making its own purchases would largely. affect the market in other directions, as the Government is a large operator in many of the more important raw materials. In a few words, the theory was that the Government's decisions would guide and stabilize, if they did not completely control, especially if industry, labor, and the consuming public were kept fully acquainted, through intelligent publicity, with the prices which the Government, upon the advice of its experts, believed to be fair.

NAVY WORK ABROAD

Practical demobilization of the American naval establishment in European waters and the sale of the Lafayette wireless station at Bordeaux to the French Government for about \$4,400,000 were announced Feb. 24 by Assistant Secretary F. D. Roosevelt, who arrived with President Wilson on the George Washington after having spent a month in Europe liquidating contracts and settling claims.

On the trip over Mr. Roosevelt told the officers and men of the George Washington that the United States spent more than \$30,000,000 laying the mine barrage in the North Sea, and that by the naval offensive, which the United States forces helped to bring about, submarines were driven from the coasts out to sea, where their work was more difficult.

Few realize [said Mr. Roosevelt] that the American Navy had fifty-four bases in European waters and the Azores, including destroyer stations and mine-laying bases, although the majority were naval aviation bases from which more than 200 American seaplanes operated. We had more than 70,000 men at these bases and on ships operating them. We leased docks and buildings, and, in addition, constructed hundreds of hangars, piers, hospitals, storehouses, and other buildings. Almost 50,000 officers and men now have been sent home and all the flying stations and bases, with a few exceptions, have been evacuated. All material of future value has been sent home. Portable houses, provisions, and motor trucks have been sold to the Red Cross and the army, and what remained of lumber and other salvage materials has been sold to the British and French Governments.

The Lafayette radio station, near Bordeaux, was intended to insure communication between Washington and the army and navy in case the cable system was put out of commission or interfered with by German submarines. It has eight towers and could communicate with the United States day and night. I arranged with the French Government that we shall complete the station, which is two-thirds finished, and they will then take it over at what it costs us.

WAR COST TO UNITED STATES

Secretary of the Treasury Glass furnished to the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives a statement showing that American disbursements in the war totaled \$26,620,334.803.51.

As the normal expenditures in this period would have been about \$1,000,000,000,000 a year, eliminating \$2,000,000,000 assumed as about representing the normal expenditures, it would appear that the war cost to date was about \$24,620,000,000.

CREDITS TO OUR ALLIES

Future credits to Allies now are limited to \$1,158,000,000, the unused portion of the \$10,000,000,000 appropriation, according to a report issued March 8 by the Treasury. Until peace is declared, this balance can be loaned to Allies for any war purpose, but thereafter for a year and a half credits may be extended only to enable Allies to purchase American property in Europe or elsewhere, and to finance allied purchases of wheat, the price of which has been guaranteed by the United States Government.

Since Congress failed to approve the Treasury's recommendations that it be permitted to use the unexpended portion of authorized credits as post-war loans to Allies to finance export from this country, this function will be limited to the War Finance Corporation, which has an appropriation of \$1,000,000,000 available for advances to exporters.

Eleven Allies now are debtors of the United States. Credits have been established amounting to \$8,841,657,000, but \$410,939,000 of this sum, although subject to draft, has not yet been paid out of the Treasury. Great Britain borrowed nearly as much as all other Allies combined. By nations, credits established and the balances still subject to draft are as follows:

	Credits.	Balances.
Great Britain	4,124,481,000	\$72,481,000
France	2,517,477,000	90,000,000
Italy	1,405,000,000	10,000,000
Belgium	338,145,000	60,300,000
Russia	325,000,000	137,270,000
Greece	39,554,000	
Czechoslovakia	35,000,000	20,900,000
Serbia	27,000,000	10,000,000
Cuba	15,000,000	5,000,000
Rumania	10,000,000	
Liberia	5,000,000	4,988,000

GOVERNORS' AND MAYORS' CONFERENCE

Secretary of Labor William B. Wilson on Feb. 25 telegraphed invitations to State Governors and Mayors of some one hundred cities to attend a conference at the White House on March 3 and 4. The conference was to take up vital questions affecting business and labor. It was the desire of the President to establish before he returned to Europe a definite nation-wide policy to stimulate public and private construction and industry in general.

The conference assembled March 3 and was welcomed by President Wilson in the East Room of the White House. The subjects discussed covered a wide range and elicited animated and at times bitter discussion. The resolutions finally adopted condemned doctrines which inveigh against God and government; they also recommended that the Government should "not only prepare for the transportation necessities of prosperity but use the railroads as the means of helping private industry" by carrying out the program of improvements.

Expressly disclaiming approval of fixing of costs, the resolutions sanctioned Government approval of price schedules as a step toward establishing a new basis of values. Reduction of freight rates on all building material, especially road material, was suggested. It was declared that reduction of wages should come only as a result of reduced living costs.

Recommendation was made that the Federal Government continue its "helpful offices" with the view to averting "serious consequences" in the financial affairs of public utilities. Settlement of Government contracts, lifting of Governmental restrictions on industry and materials as soon as posible, and continuation of the Federal survey of natural resources started during the war were asked. The conference also deplored discontinuance of Federal employment agencies, and urged demobilization of the army by local draft boards.

ARMY OF OCCUPATION

General Pershing reached Coblenz, Germany, March 14 to inspect the Army of Occupation. On that day he reviewed the 1st and 2d Divisions and presented large numbers of medals to members of the two first ranking divisions of the American Expeditionary Force.

The review of the 2d was an impressive ceremony, held on the broad plain atop the Rhine hills back of Vallendar. Fifteen thousand men of all branches were drawn up in striking array while the commander walked some ten miles along their ranks, giving commendation and praise as he went. The men were in the full equipment of fighting days with the exception of gas masks.

After inspecting troops General Pershing awarded Distinguished Service Crosses to eighty-three officers and men of the division. On behalf of the French Nation he decorated Major Gen. Lejeune, commanding the 2d Division, with the medal of a Commander of the Legion of Honor. This reward was given by France especially in recognition of the 2d's work in freeing Rheims last Fall.

On Feb. 18 the American Army took over the city of Luxemburg, which had been in the hands of the French.

The holding of the Duchy's capital by the Americans followed the series of revolutions and counter-revolutions of a bloodless nature which the city had had since General Pershing first entered it, last November. A few hours after the American officials took charge, word was brought that a revolution was about to start. The American commander sent forth word that there must be no mobs, no riots, no bloodshed, otherwise the Luxemburgeois might revolt to their hearts' content. But the revolution, as in the similar case three months before, failed to come off on schedule.

PAY-AS-YOU-GO PLAN

All indebtedness contracted by Americans within the occupied territories of Germany is to be paid immediately. Authorization to this effect was secured by the Third Army March 6, and from that date on the Americans have paid their way as they went. The money to pay the back bills and the bills of the future is requisitioned from Berlin, the army thus relieving the civilians of the occupied territory from taking the chances of collecting from the German Government.

When the Americans eventually start homeward not one pfennig will be owing to civilians who have claims for services rendered or for billets in hotels or houses, or claims of any other kind in connection with the upkeep of the United States troops, so far as the army records are concerned.

Before the departure of the forces the commanders of the various units will confer with the Burgomasters of the respective cities and villages in the district, and as a final formality will receive from the Burgomasters receipts in full, showing all debts cleared up under this plan.

Since the Americans came the Burgomasters have been paying the civilians their bills, but in February the Germans reported that their funds were exhausted and that they were unable to obtain more money from Berlin. The Coblenz Burgomaster's office thus owed more than 500,000 marks for bills contracted in connection with the maintenance of Americans. The latter had been for some time in favor of putting the immediate-payment plan in practice, but before this could be done it was necessary to gain the consent of the allied commission.

The ground taken by the Americans

is that it would be more worthy of them to pay as they went than to leave debts in the hands of civilians, who might or might not in the course of time be able to collect from the more or less unstable Treasury in Berlin. Therefore the Americans will do the collecting from the German Government.

In general the administration of af-

fairs in the occupied zone has been orderly and marked by no untoward incident. Fraternization was reduced by the stringent enforcement of the regulations. The sale of Iron Crosses was stopped and smuggling was largely stamped out by a system of heavy fines. The health and morale of the army continued excellent.

Demobilizing the British Army

Plans for Armies of Occupation

THE British Government announced on Jan. 29, 1919, that the British Armies of Occupation would be reduced to about 900,000 men, or only one-fourth of the number on the various fronts when the armistice was signed. Of the 2,500,000 men to be released, 750,000 had already been demobilized or discharged. Those remaining were to be set free as quickly as possible. The work of organization was begun Feb. 1, and was expected to last three months.

Bonuses were to be paid to all ranks of the new army and air force and to those of the navy as well. The lowest increase was to be 10 shillings weekly, making a yearly total of £36,500,000, of which £29,000,000 was to go to the army, £3,000,000 to the Royal Air Force, and £4,500,000 to the navy.

Colonel Winston Spencer Churchill, the War Secretary, issued an explanatory note in which he said:

The new army will be composed, in the first instance, only from those who did not enlist before Jan. 1, 1916, who are not over 37 years of age, and have not more than two wound stripes. If any one has to stay, it m t be those who are not the oldest, not those who came the earliest, not those who have suffered the most. This method should give us about 1,300,-000 men, out of which it is intended to form the army of 900,000. Should there be a surplus of men, after dealing with a certain number of pivotal and compassionate cases, we shall reduce to 900,000 by reducing the age of retention to 36 to 35, next releasing the men with twowound stripes, and then on to 34. Later it will be possible to continue making reductions on the principle of releasing the oldest men by the years of their age.

• • • The sixty-nine battalions of young soldiers of 18 and upward who are now at home will be sent at once to help guard the Rhine bridgeheads.

The pay of the Armies of Occupation will be substantially increased. Each man posted to these armies will draw a bonus, with arrears from Feb. 1, ranging from 10s 6d a week in the case of a private to £2 2s in the case of officers above the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. The total extra cost for one year is estimated at £29,000,000, of which £26,000,000 will go to the rank and file. Officers and men not selected for retention, but not released by May 1, will receive half the bonus from that date.

The Armies of Occupation will include the Home Army, Army of the Rhine, Army of the Middle East, Detachment of the Far North, and garrisons of the Crown Colonies and India. Soldiers under 20 will serve only at home or in the Army of the Rhine. * * *

During 1919 we must remake the old British regular army so as to provide on a voluntary basis the overseas garrisons. It remains for all classes to work together with the utmost comradeship and energy to safeguard the final victory of our cause.

On Nov. 11 there were in the Royal Air Force about 30,000 officers and 265,000 airmen. Of these, 1,742 officers and 51,727 airmen had been demobilized by Jan. 24, 1919. During the year, 6,500 officers and 75,000 other ranks will be retained.

The principles governing their retention, it was announced, would be the same as those for the army. Officers and men would be retained who were not enlisted and posted before Jan. 1, 1916, had not attained their thirty-seventh birthday, or were not entitled to

three or more wound stripes. The remainder would be demobilized as quickly as possible in the order of their industrial groups now open.

Each airman posted to these armies is to draw a bonus, with arrears from Feb. 1, ranging from 5s 3d in the case of a private to 38s 6d in the case of a staff officer of the first class. The total estimated cost for one year is £3.000.000.

Captain F. E. Guest introduced a bill in the House of Commons March 7 which proposed compulsory service for the British Army of Occupation. This army, according to the bill, would be composed of 900,000 men and the enlistment period would expire on April 30, 1920. Alexander Shaw, Laborite, moved the rejection of the measure because the Labor Party

is opposed to a continuance of conscription.

Colonel Winston Spencer Churchill, defending the bill, argued that the Government, in providing for an army to insure peace, was "pursuing a path toward universal voluntary service." He added:

Our delegates to the Peace Conference are fighting for the complete abolition of conscription in Europe. A formal demand has been made that Germany be permitted to have only a small voluntary army on a long-service basis, but it is uncertain whether this point will be carried. Our representatives stand almost alone in this matter and it is not at all impossible that Japan, France, and Italy, and even the United States, will be nations into whose military systems some element of compulsory service may enter.

The bill passed second reading by a vote of 304 to 71.

Feeding Hungry Europe

Measures Taken by the Allies to Bring Food to All the Famished Nations

HOOVER, ERBERT Director General of Allied Relief, in a statement issued Feb. 2, 1919, set forth the measures already taken, or being taken, to relieve the food distress in the various European countries, and described the organizing and equipping of the Allied Supreme Council of Supply and Relief with a staff of officials representing the allied and associated powers, with the object of securing co-ordination and unity of effort from all the Governments striving to ameliorate the distressing conditions contingent on the dearth of food.

On Feb. 24 the United States Congress, following an urgent plea sent by President Wilson from Europe, appropriated \$100,000,000 for the relief of the ever-increasing famine in Europe.

On March 2 Mr. Hoover was appointed by President Wilson Director General of the American Relief Administration created under the \$100,000,000 European Famine Relief Bill, and Edgar Richard and Theodore F. Whitmarsh, who had been directing the affairs of the Food Administration during Mr. Hoover's absence in Europe, were appointed joint Directors in the United States of the newly created Relief Administration. The text of the President's order appointing Mr. Hoover follows:

In pursuance of an act entitled "An act for the relief of such populations in Europe, and countries contiguous thereto, outside of Germany, German Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, as may be determined upon by the President as necessary," approved Feb. 24, 1919, I hereby direct that the furnishing of foodstuffs and other urgent supplies and the transportation, distribution, and administration therefor, provided for in said act, shall be conducted under the direction of Herbert Hoover, who is hereby appointed Director General of the American Relief Administration, with full power to determine to which of the populations named in said act the supplies shall be furnished and in what quantities, and further to arrange for reimbursement, so far as possible, as in said act provided.

He is hereby authorized to establish the American Relief Administration for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of said act and to employ such persons and incur such expenses as may be necessary for such purpose, to disburse all sums appropriated under the aforesaid act of Feb. 24, 1919, and appoint a disbursing officer with that power, and particularly to employ the Food Administration Grain Corporation, organized under the provisions of the Food Control act of Aug. 10, 1917, as an agency for the purpose of transportation and distribution of breadstuffs and supplies in the populations requiring relief.

He is hereby further authorized in the carrying out of the aforesaid act of Feb. 24. 1919, to contract with the Food Administration Grain Corporation, or any other person or corporation, that such person or corporation shall carry stocks of food in transit to Europe, and at points in Europe, in such quantities as may be agreed upon and as are required to meet relief needs, and that there shall be paid to such person or corporation in advance from the appropriation made in the aforesaid act of Feb. 24, 1919, any sums which may be required for the purchase and transportation of foodstuffs and the maintenance of stocks.

BELGIUM AND NORTH FRANCE

Charges that food relief to Belgium had been inefficiently administered were denied on March 4 by Emil Franqui, a member of the Belgian Cabinet and at one time Chairman of the Belgian National Relief Committee, in a message sent to Senator Calder, who had moved an investigation of reports that some American food had been sent to Belgium and Northern France which had poisoned those whom it had been destined to relieve. Seven million Belgians and 2.500,-000 inhabitants of Northern France were alive, said M. Franqui; none had starved, and none had been poisoned. The work of the Commission of Relief in Belgium. declared M. Franqui, was the noblest thing that had come out of the war.

For four and a half years the labors of this commission were carried on in Rotterdam. In a statement made on March 8 by Walter Brown of Los Angeles, who has been head of the Rotterdam office since the beginning of the war, the relief work for Belgium and Northern France was gradually being transferred to the port of Antwerp, while in Rotterdam the feeding of Northern Europe was being carried on. Most of the food up to date had arrived in United States Army and Navy transports manned

mainly by naval crews; the majority of these were sixty to ninety day boats, built in the United States. Something over 5,000,000 tons of foodstuffs had passed through the Rotterdam office during the four and a half years of its operation. Belgian supplies were now being sent straight to Antwerp by steamer.

The Ministry of Industry, Labor, and Food of Belgium, under M. Joseph Wauters, co-operates actively with the American Commission for Relief. Wauters, in an interview given toward the end of February, estimated the number of destitute people in Belgium at that time at 2,300,000. The mortality was three times as great as before the The cost of living had leaped tremendously. The transportation of food was slow. There were 8,000,000 consumers in the country, of whom 220,-000 were soldiers. Of the \$22,000,000 asked from the United States by Belgium, it was proposed to use \$10,000,000 for clothing and feeding the army, and \$12,000,000 for revictualing the population. Ten million tons of clothing were then en route from America to Belgium. The American Army had agreed to turn over all surplus stocks of food in Northern France to Belgium.

FINLAND

Supplies and foodstuffs for Finland were also being sent from Rotterdam. Supplies for Finland were shipped in Finnish boats chartered by the Finns themselves.

ITALY

Three American steamers with cargoes of grain for Switzerland arrived at Genoa on March 3; at that time another steamer had reached Naples. These were the first shipments to Switzerland to arrive in Italian harbors in two years.

Congested conditions on the Adriatic coast resulted in officers of high rank being sent to examine the situation there. The local authorities explained the failure to unload food ships for weeks by lack of labor; if this proved true, curative measures were to be taken forthwith, as much of the friction between the Italians and the Jugoslavs was said



to be caused by food conditions; this was corrected late in March and food was freely forwarded.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Fourteen carloads of flour, more than 180 tons, reached Prague, Bohemia, on Feb. 20. This was the first shipment of food to reach Czechoslovakia from the Allies. At Trieste 10,000 tons were said to be awaiting cars. Czechoslovak troops escorted the train; at Budweis a band greeted the Americans. The Czechoslovaks claimed that Prague was worse off than Berlin and Vienna; in Prague at this time there were three meatless days a week, and the meat shops were closed on all except two days.

Foodstuffs began to arrive in Czechoslovakia on Feb. 20, and between that date and March 11 2,770 tons of flour and 500 tons of fats had arrived in Bohemia. All the foodstuffs were delivered by the Czechoslovak Government equally, giving the German towns the same proportion as the Czechoslovaks received. Particular attention was paid to the mining populations, the peoples of which had greatly decreased owing to lack of nutrition.

POLAND

John F. Smulski, Commissioner for the Polish Government, on March 2 authorized the statement that 152,100 metric tons of food would be required for feeding the population of Warsaw, Poland, alone until the new crops come.

Mr. Smulski, who arrived in Washington to plan further rationing of the Polish people, said that this figure was based on the lowest possible amount which would sustain life.

The United States food relief ship Westward Ho arrived at Danzig on March 6. The Westward Ho was the first vessel to pass through the Kiel Canal since the outbreak of the war. No German ship was sighted throughout the fifty-four-mile trip.

THE BALKAN STATES

The Council of Ten broke down the Italian opposition to the feeding of Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia (as well as of Austria and Hungary) on March 7, and the entire revictualing problem was placed in the hands of Herbert Hoover. It was said that besides 2,500,-000 tons of food that Germany would need until the next harvest, the southern countries would need 3,000 tons of food daily. Mr. Hoover had accumulated 80,-000 tons of food at Fiume and Trieste since the Serbian-Italian frontier was closed at Laibach, but it was to be immediately reopened and trains had been started already.

Mr. Hoover asserted the belief that he could begin feeding a substantial part of the starving peoples immediately and greatly relieve famine conditions within a short time. The committee had not yet worked out a scheme for payment, but all countries receiving food, including the enemy powers, were willing and anxious to pay any price to obtain food.

The seriousness of the food problems to be solved in all these countries was pointed out by George H. Roberts on the day that Italy withdrew her opposition. Only the speediest action, he declared, could avert a catastrophe. The situation, he maintained, was "appallingly serious," not only in Austria and Germany, but in Rumania and Serbia, which were starving.

The Balkan Commission sent to help the starving and diseased populations is trying to set up an organization in the Balkans which by degrees may be carried on by the natives of the given countries when they have reached the self-helping stage. The members of the commission are thus divided: Greece, Professor E. A. Eapps; Rumania, Lieut. Col. H. Gideon; Serbia, Lieut. Col. Thomas P. Farnham; Albania, Major Robert C. Denison; Montenegro, Major E. G. Dexter.

"We are doing our best to help the Balkan people, not only by giving them food, clothing, and medicines, but by moral support, making them feel that there is another nation willing to stand by them and see them set on their feet again," said Colonel Henry W. Anderson, who heads the Balkan Commission, to an American press correspondent in Rome on Feb. 20. "All the Balkan peoples just now are in a state of moral exhaustion and demoralization brought about by the terrible privations they have had to undergo through war and revolution."

Food conditions in Serbia, said Mr. Anderson, were not so bad as had been described. Central and Northern Albania were badly off. Greek conditions were not bad, except near the Bulgarian border. The country worst off was Rumania, which was in a pitiable condition; the Germans had taken away everything, both food and clothing; there were, he said, 50,000 orphans there.

SERBIA

Serbia, from Belgrade on the north to Monastir on the south, was described as both an economic and physical ruin by Dr. Louis I. Dublin, a statistician of New York, recently returned from Italy, Greece, Serbia, and Jugoslavia.

Of a population of 3,500,000 remaining from 5,000,000 Dr. Dublin stated that fully 75 per cent. were subnormal, owing to starvation and disease.

MONTENEGRO

The commission sent by the American peace delegation to inquire into conditions in Montenegro passed through Rome toward Paris on March 5. It reported the situation in Montenegro as desperate, and it was said that the population was actually dying from starvation. As an instance of the suffering there, it was said that of a family of eight children five had died from lack of food and the other three had been reduced to skeletons. These were seen scratching the earth to find roots or gathering nettles for food. The American Red Cross was busily engaged in trying to save the people from starvation.

THE NEAR EAST

The American Committee for Relief in the Near East has announced that word of the safe arrival at Constantinople of the fifth expedition of relief workers had been received. The fifth expedition, 252 persons, left New York on Feb. 17 on the Leviathan, and transshipped at Brest, where Arthur Curtiss James, who is in Paris, completed arrangements for the party. The cable, signed by George E. White, a member of this expedition, read:

Relief expedition to Near East reached Saloniki March 4 full of health and good cheer. Proceeded by same steamer to Constantinople March 6, arriving Sunday morning. Mr. James's arrangements perfect. British assistance magnificent. Inform all friends.

The eighth expedition, which sailed recently on the Mauretania, consisted of a commission of Sunday school workers who will supervise and assist in the work of distributing supplies, and will also make recommendation concerning the best way of housing and caring for the 400,000 orphan victims of the war. The Sunday schools of the country, it was announced yesterday, have already contributed more than \$2,000,000 for Near East relief.

The nation-wide campaign for \$30,-000,000 to aid the Armenians and Syrians was begun in New York recently by the Armenian Committee for Relief in the Near East.

In explanation of how the money is to be spent, the committee made the following statement:

There are nearly 4,000,000 souls to be fed, clothed, and started on a new life. Of these 2,900,000 are destitute and must be fed as soon as the funds are provided. It will cost exactly \$5 a month for six months to feed each of the destitutes. This makes a total of \$4,500,000 for six months for food supplies. Four dollars for each person will be needed for clothing and bedding, making another item of \$8,000,000.

One million seven hundred and seventy thousand persons are at an average of 400 miles from home and must be taken back at a cost of \$3 for each person, thus requiring \$5,310,000 for this purpose. For these repatriated persons 50,000 temporary houses will be needed to replace the ones destroyed by the Turks. These will cost \$50 each, making a total of \$2,500,000.

It will also cost \$4,000,000 to provide orphanages for 400,000 orphans. Finally, to make these people self-supporting as soon as possible, another \$2,500,000 must be spent for seeds, farm implements, &c.

This makes a total of \$36,810.000 of which New York's quota is \$6,000,000.

BRITISH EFFORTS

When the British armies advanced their lines into enemy territory in Syria, Mesopotamia, and other countries in the Near East, so many thousands of refugees who had been despoiled by the Germans and Turks came under British care that the facilities of the private charitable agencies were unable to relieve all the suffering. It was necessary for the British supply service to aid. A partial story of its relief work was later revealed in the request for more funds for the stricken populations and in the announcement that all the work of the British Army and the British charitable associations would be continued in co-operation with / merican relief organizations.

In Mesopotamia, General Marshall had made himself responsible for the feeding and welfare of about 45,000 Armenians and Jews from the headquarters at Bajubah. All the money had been provided by British Army funds. Included in the sum spent there was a grant of 220,000 rupees (\$75,000) for blankets and necessities for women and children, who were starving when they came within the British lines. A similar number was cared for by the British armies in Palestine and Syria with money taken from the army funds and with gifts from individuals.

General Sir Edmund Allenby estimated that \$125,000 a month would be needed for relief work south of Aleppo. General Thomson undertook the work in Baku, where he began the repatriation of refugees under great difficulties.

Charitable associations in this country and Europe have pointed out in their pleas for funds to carry on the work in the Near East that the problem of caring for these stricken populations was thrust upon the allied countries when the races were relieved of Turkish oppression and brought within the British lines. When the refugees in thousands came under the British flag the problem of Armenian relief was created.

The greater number of refugees thrown upon the care of the British Army were in Mesopotamia and Syria. In Mesopotamia the majority were Assyrian fugitives, and those in Syria were Armenians who had been treated brutally by the Turks. Others, less welcome, were the Russian Armenians and the Assyrians of Urumia.

FEEDING GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

A disagreement arose at Spa on March 6 between the allied commissions and Germans over the shipment of food to Germany provided 300,000 tons of German shipping were placed at the disposal of the Allies, and the conference was broken up. According to the German version of this rupture, given in a wireless message received in London on March 7, the Allies demanded that all the remaining German merchant ships should be handed over unconditionally, without being willing to undertake the obligation of supplying Germany with foodstuffs. The German delegates, it was added, received instructions from their Government that the question of shipping, finance, and food supply must be dealt with only as a whole. The German message continued:

The question of handing over the mercantile fleet can only arise if adequate food supplies, say 2,500,000 tons of foodstuffs, are assured Germany until the new harvest. The Entente could not agree to this.

As the instructions of both sides did not go beyond this, a French delegate proposed that negotiations be broken off, whereupon the two special delegations left Spa.

The negotiations were reopened at Brussels and a full accord reached, details of which are given in the armistice proceedings on Page 23 of this issue of CURRENT HISTORY. It was estimated that Germany's total food requirements abroad during the year would reach 1,000,000 tons of meat and 1,000,000 tons of fats, costing at least \$600,000,000, with the mark figured at 11½ cents.

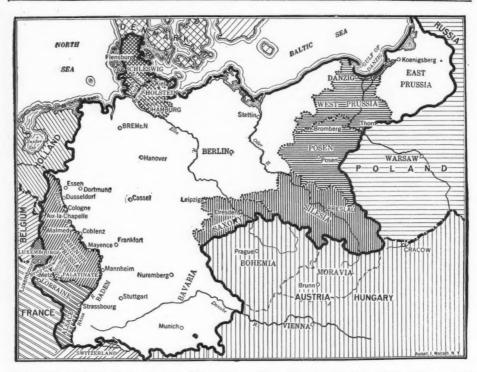
Boundary Disputes in Europe

Maze of Difficult and Delicate Problems Confronting the Peace Conference

HE attempt to apply the principles of nationality and self-determination to the solution of boundary problems in the new Europe has brought the Peace Conference face to face with many puzzling tasks of delimitation. Disputes over boundaries, especially in the case of several newly created nations, sprang up immediately after the signing of the armistice, and continued to grow more multifarious and bitter during the first months of the Peace Conference. In a number of cases they have led to armed conflict. The whole question, bewilderingly entangled with racial, historical, and geographical considerations, is one of the most delicate and difficult presented to that body for solution.

BELGIUM

Premier Delacroix announced in the Chamber of Deputies at Brussels on March 12 that the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference had decided that the treaty of April 19, 1839, between Belgium and Holland must be revised. The announcement was received with en-Such a revision meant a thusiasm. rectification of the Belgian-Dutch frontier. In 1914 Belgium was the victim of the treaty of 1839. The Belgian Minister of the Interior, Baron de Borchgrave, pointed out to a correspondent how important it was that Belgium be made immune to further invasions. The Supreme Council recognized the validity of Belgium's claims. The old treaty had been ratified by France, Great Britain, Austria, and Prussia, the powers recognizing the independence of Belgium as "a neutral State." It was this convention which on Aug. 1, 1914, was called "a scrap of paper" by Germany when she massed her troops for the invasion of Belgium. The Peace Conference has



GERMANY BEFORE AND AFTER THE WAR. THE HEAVY BLACK LINE SHOWS OLD BOUNDARIES, AND SHADED PORTIONS SHOW AREAS CLAIMED BY OTHER NATIONALITIES

agreed in principle to the giving of the Malmedy district to Belgium, which will add one more bit of territory to the other regions to be taken from Germany. The claims and aspirations of Belgium were fully analyzed in the February issue of CURRENT HISTORY.

ALSACE AND LORRAINE

Alsace and Lorraine were practically returned to France by the terms of Mr. Wilson's "fourteen points," which were accepted by both sides before the signing of the armistice; the present German Government, however, continues to keep alive the old claim to these provinces by occasional references to a plebiscite. When the elections were held for the German National Assembly a certain proportion of the delegates were assigned to be elected from Alsace-Lorraine, but those provinces ignored the plan. The Superior Council of Alsace and Lorraine at its first meeting in the French War Office adopted a resolution declaring against the German proposals for a plebiscite. The council was created to adjust various matters connected with the provisional administration of the two provinces. The resolution says:

We refuse to stand for any foreign interference in our national affairs such as those attempted recently at Weimar and elsewhere with the object of making the future of Alsace and Lorraine depend on a plebiscite. We most energetically deny to all Germans the right of manifesting solicitude for us which comes forty-eight years too late. We are and will remain French without any plebiscite, through the restoration of the rights violated in 1871.

DENMARK AND SCHLESWIG

The claims of Denmark in connection with Schleswig-Holstein, which Germany seized in 1866, have not been seriously contested. A delegation of Danes arrived in Paris early in March and presented these claims to the Peace Conference. The delegates were Dr. P. Munch, former Premier Neergaard, Senator Alex Fess,

and Senator Bramsen. They were accompanied by four prominent residents of Schleswig. The delegation represented the four largest parties in the Danish Parliament, two of the members belonging to the majority bloc and two to the Opposition. They said that all the people of Denmark were desirous that the part of Schleswig inhabited by Danes be returned to Denmark, and that they looked with confidence to the decision of the Peace Conference on this question.

According to the Paris Temps, March 4, the procedure contemplated for the solution of the Danish claims on Schleswig was as follows:

The Duchy of Schleswig will be divided into four zones. In the first zone, adjoining the Danish frontier and comprising Northern Schleswig, the inhabitants will soon be asked to manifest by means of a plebiscite their wishes regarding their reunion with Denmark. In the next zone, including Central Schleswig, with the town of Flensburg, a plebiscite will take place within six months. In the third zone the Allies will carry on a military occupation. The fourth zone, the limit between which and the third has not yet been fixed, will extend as far as the Kiel Canal and remain German territory, unoccupied by the Allies.

LUXEMBURG

Luxemburg also has national aspirations. In a dispatch of March 9 Maurice Pescatore, leader of the Left in the Luxemburg Chamber, gave the reasons why Luxemburg leaned toward union with Belgium rather than with France. Union with France, he stated, meant absorption in the French Republic, with the entailment of heavy taxes. The Economic Commission of Luxemburg, which reported in favor of union with France, was appointed by the Prime Minister and had no powers to decide a policy. As to the dynasty, because of its German sympathies, it would ultimately prove unacceptable to the people. Marie Adelaide had been compelled to abdicate because of the popular prejudice against her, and the same thing undoubtedly would happen to her sister, whose accession to the throne was still unacknowledged by the nations of the Entente. The advantages of union with Belgium were largely economic. Antwerp is Luxemburg's favorite port. Belgian industry needs Luxemburg's iron

ore. Labor is available from Belgium. Belgium is free trade in policy and her cost of living low; France is highly protectionist. For all these reasons the preference for union with Belgium rather than with France was quite explainable.

ITALO-JUGOSLAV DISPUTES

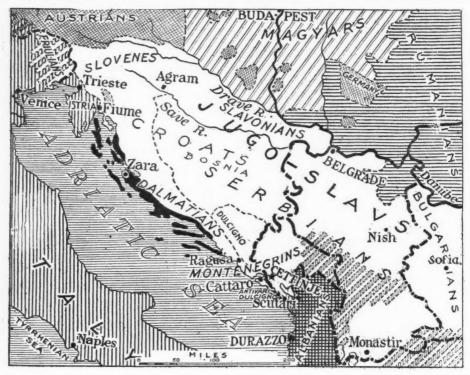
Of all boundary disputes that have arisen since the war, none is more embittered than that between Italy and the Jugoslavs. In an eloquent speech made by Signor Bissolati at Milan on Jan. 11, after his resignation from the Orlando Cabinet, in large part conditioned by his views of Italy's proper claims, the former Minister warned his country solemnly against pressing her claims to territory in the Austrian Tyrol, in Dalmatia, and in the Greek settled islands of the Dodecanese, all ceded to Italy by the Decree of London of 1915. Such a settlement, he declared, would inevitably pave the way for future troubles. Of Italy's right to annex Istria and Fiume permanently, however, he entertained no doubt. The Jugoslav party claims Istria, Fiume, and Dalmatia.

Guglielmo Ferrero, in an article published in Rome on Feb. 19, insisted that history supports Italy in her claim to Istria, and cited the following population figures from the last Austrian census:

sus:	T4-11	01
Gorizia and Gradisca	Italians.	Slavs. 154,000
Trieste and district	149,000	59,000
Western Istria	145,000	155,000
Total	384 000	368 000

As to Fiume, the whole crux of the dispute centred about the question whether Fiume should be considered separately or in conjunction with the near-lying suburb of Sushak. Without Sushak, Fiume shows a population of 24,000 Italians, as against 15,000 Croats or Southern Slavs. With Sushak there would be 27,000 Slavs, as against approximately the same number of Italians as before.

In a dispatch of March 1 the Italian claim was authoritatively set forth by Signor Giuseppe Canepa, Deputy for Genoa in the Italian Parliament. Asked whether he regarded it as right and nec-



MAP OF JUGOSLAVIA SHOWING REUNITED SLAVIC UNITS. THE BLACK AND SHADED AREAS ALONG THE ADRIATIC ARE IN DISPUTE

essary that Fiume should be annexed to Italy, Canepa replied:

Without doubt Italians of all classes and politicians of all parties, including Bissolati, are convinced that Fiume should be assigned to Italy. Fiume's undeniable Italian character is proved by its population, its secular culture, its customs, and its traditions, which are all Italian. Besides, Fiume is an integral part of Istria, and Istria belongs to Italy for reasons long since expounded by Mazzini.

The Jugoslav delegate was even stronger in expressing determination to have Fiume for Jugoslavia at any cost, indicating the extreme difficulty and delicacy of this problem confronting the Peace Conference.

DALMATIA

Dalmatia is strongly claimed by the Serbs on racial grounds. It is the area from which has sprung most of the ancient Serbian culture. It includes within its area the little Serbian Republic of Ragusa, which has a culture extending back to the sixteenth century. Mestrovic,

the famous Serbian sculptor, is a Dalmatian.

As opposed to the Italian claims to Dalmatia, Guglielmo Ferrero in one of his articles on the Italian annexation proposals holds that it would be unwise for Italy to push this claim. He writes:

If the annexation of Dalmatia is to be justified in accordance with the principle of nationality, it must be proved, argue the anti-annexationists, that these Slav parties and the population they represent desire the union of Dalmatia and Italy. These parties, however, turn rather toward their racial brothers living beyond the Dinaric Alps.

As for the military argument, the opponents of annexation recognize that undoubtedly Italy would be mistress of the Adriatic and perfectly safe, if she possessed not only Istria and Pola but also the Dalmatian coast. Against this, they urge that Italy, if she annexed Dalmatia, would, while insuring an invulnerable coast line, weaken her land frontier. She would then have a frontier on the Dinaric Alps, which would be extremely difficult to defend owing to the lack of sufficient hinterland in which to collect, feed, and manoeuvre troops.

About the middle of February the Jugoslav delegates to the Peace Conference asked President Wilson to act as arbitrator in the differences with Italy regarding the eastern coast of the Adriatic. President Wilson suggested that the Italians and the Jugoslavs discuss their differences. The Italians declined the proposal; a similar proposal was, it is said, rejected by Premier Clemenceau. On Feb. 18 the Italian delegates to the Conference, through Foreign Minister Sonnino, formally declined the arbitration of Italian and Jugoslav claims in Dalmatia as urged by the Jugoslavs-on the ground that all territorial claims were being submitted to the Conference, and that no exceptional procedure was necessary. In view of this declination the Jugoslav delegates, according to a dispatch of Feb. 27, presented to the Conference their territorial claims, asking that the Isonzo River be made the boundary between them and Italy, and involving the annexation by the Jugoslavs of the whole of Styria, with Trieste and Fiume, and the whole of the Dalmatian islands, with the exception of Pelagosa, which was left to Italy.

THE LAIBACH INCIDENT

The tenseness of feeling between Italy and the Jugoslavs over these rival claims reached a crisis in the Laibach incident on Feb. 20, when the Jugoslav commander forced an Italian member of the Food Commission to leave Laibach. This city, just outside the armistice frontier, is a railroad centre on the line from Trieste to Vienna. American food passed through Laibach on its way to feed the starving Austrians. Twenty-four thousand tons had been transported along this route. After this incident the Italians began to use the longer route through Tarvis. This act of the Jugoslavs, the dispatch stated, was looked upon in Paris as in complete contravention of the warning of the great powers against all violence to obtain territory in dispute. In view of this situation, the Italians decided to close the frontier, though taking measures to provision Czechoslovakia by routes not passing through Laibach.

A Washington dispatch of March &

stated that Italy had been warned by the American Government that unless she put an end to delays in the movement of relief supplies to the newly established Jugoslavic and Czechoslavic States steps would be taken to cut off the flow of American foodstuffs to Italy. The Italian Government, it was stated, had caused intolerable conditions by the blockade imposed against the Jugoslavic countries, which had operated also against the Czechoslovaks. The blockade had not been wholly effective, because the United States had been able to deliver much food where it was needed, but many delays had been caused, resulting often in holding up supplies the need of which was desperate.

On March 7 it was announced that the Jugoslav frontier would be reopened, on the expectation that the Serbian Government would disclaim official responsibility for the Laibach incident. This practically closed the episode.

That Serbia had adopted a policy of repression in Croatia, and was punishing Croatians who desired to see their country an autonomous State in a Jugoslav republic, was the substance of a message received by the Italian Information Bureau of New York. The cable was from Agram, and declared that 50,000 Croatians in mass meeting had declared their purpose of entering a confederation based on the model of the United States, with an autonomous Croatia. Centralization in Belgrade, they declared, would be nothing else than a copy of the absolutism of the war.

CLAIMS OF ALBANIA

A memorandum on the claims of Albania was presented to the Conference on Feb. 18. The Albanians asked it to acknowledge their rights, which, it is said, were sacrificed in Berlin in 1878 and in London in 1913.

The Albanians claim all territory given to Montenegro, Serbia, and Greece after the London Conference of 1913, and assert that most of the people inhabiting those territories are Albanians. Reparation for damage done in Albania by the Greeks and by the armies of the Central Powers also is asked by the Albanian Government.



THE CZECHOSLOVAK REPUBLIC: SHADED AREA MARKED "RUTHENIANS" IS IN DISPUTE
BETWEEN POLAND AND THE UKRAINE. BLACK AREA IS IN DISPUTE
BETWEEN POLAND AND THE CZECHOSLOVAKS

The Albanian representatives were introduced to the Peace Conference on Feb. 24, and Turkhan Pasha stated the Albanian claims. The narrative of what followed is given elsewhere in an article on Albania.

A protest was made in Albanian circles against the naming of Turkhan Pasha and Mehmed Bey as Albania's representatives at the Peace Conference, the ground of the protest being that they had maintained suspicious relations with the Turks and Germans.

The claims set forth by the Albanians include Tchamara to the south as well as the Albanian territories annexed to Montenegro and Serbia.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The Council of Ten on Feb. 5 discussed the difficult question of defining the boundaries of the new Czechoslovak State. The Czechoslovaks demanded the formation of a State with a population of about 13,000,000 within, speaking generally, the boundaries of the ancient kingdom of Bohemia. They claim, consequently, the whole of Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovak-Silesia. They ask, moreover, a rectification of the frontier in the region of Ratibor on the Oder, in the regions of Glatz in Prussian Silesia at

Troppau, and in the regions of Gmuend and Thomenan in lower Austria. Lastly, the Czechoslovaks are also ready to adopt the Ruthenes who dwell on the left bank of the upper Tisega if they so desire, and propose to join their territory to that of the Jugoslavs. The Germans would thus be definitely cut off from the Orient and the new Slav States would have more solidarity, as they would have points of contact with routes leading to the sea and to Italy.

The Czechoslovak delegates further propose the internationalization of the means of communication, so as to assure communications for the nonmaritime Central European States, to consolidate the political ties which unite them, and to enable them to resist German influence. The Czechoslovak Republic in particular demands the internationalization of the Danube, the Elbe, and the Vistula. Similarly, the internationalization of the railway line between Pressburg, Trieste, and Fiume is essential if any connection ts to be established between the territories of the Czechcslovaks and the Jugoslavs.

This complex problem of carving a new nation out of the old political group was laid before a special committee on March 3. The committee had been named by the council and held special sessions under the Presidency of Jules Cambon, a former Minister of France to Germany. Many of the details of the new boundaries had been fairly well established by March 15, but were not yet announced.

A dispatch of March 5 reported that sanguinary engagements had occurred between Czech soldiers and citizens in numerous towns in German Bohemia. The trouble started when the Germans attempted to hold elections in German Bohemia for the Austrian National Assembly, which the Czech Government prohibited because Bohemia is Czech territory. The Germans organized manifestations against Czech rule and the Czechs used rifles and bayonets in suppressing the demonstration.

Three persons were reported to have been killed at Karlsbad and ten at Sternberg. A number of others were reported killed or wounded in clashes at Reichenberg, Aussig, Bruex, Eger, and Mies.

CLAIMS OF RUMANIA

Most of one sitting of the Council of the Five Powers was occupied with the claims of Rumania. These include, on the west, nearly all the territories between the Carpathians and the River Theiss, in particular Transylvania; on the north, the Bukovina, which is also claimed by the Ukrainians; on the east, Bessarabia, and on the southeast the Dobrudja.

The portion of the Banat of Temesvar to the north of Belgrade, which is claimed by the Serbians, is small in extent compared with the Rumanian claims against Hungary, Russia, and Bulgaria, but the question is of considerable interest.

This is one of the cases in which the races are so intermingled that a division by nationality is impossible. Rumania bases her claims largely on the secret treaty of Aug. 18, 1916, by which, of course, the South Slavs are not committed.

As a justification for their claim that the Serbs should not insist on the annexation of the 240,000 Serbs who live in the Banat, the Rumanians point out the large numbers of Rumanians settled in Bulgaria and Serbia. This subject was thoroughly discussed in a pamphlet written by a professor of the University of Jassy in 1913. The most recent Bulgarian statistics show the number of Rumanians living in Bulgarian territory as over 75,000. In Serbia the number of Rumanians has been estimated by non-Rumanian investigators as 260,000. These 260,000 Rumanians are not claimed by Rumania, which wishes to maintain the natural frontier of the Danube and to remain in friendly relations with Serbia: but she asks Serbia, on her part, not to claim the 240,000 Serbs living in the contested portion of the Banat.

CLAIMS OF GREECE

The claims of Greece were heard before the Conference on Feb. 3. M. Venizelos expounded these claims at this and a subsequent session. The Greek Government issued a special memoir setting forth in detail the Greek point of view. The exposition of M. Venizelos bore on the following claims: 1, Northern Epirus, which has a population of 150,000 Greeks: 2. Thrace and the region of Constantinople, (731,000,) and the shores of the Aegean Sea, given to Bulgaria after the war of 1913, (43,000;) 3, the Vilayets of Balikeser and Aidin in Asia Minor, (1.694.000:) 4. the islands of the Dodecanese, (102,000;) 5, the Island of Cyprus, (235,000.) These populations, said M. Venizelos, all together comprise 3,-256,000 souls of pure Greek origin. The present Greek Kingdom has but slightly more, specifically 4,300,000.

In North Epirus the Greek population had been in the majority since 1913. After the adventure of the Prince of Wied England had occupied this territory, Valona only remaining under Italian domination. Cyprus, which had been offered to Greece by the Government of London in 1915, and which the Government of Constantine had refused, is now reclaimed. The Dodecanese Islands had been ceded provisionally to Italy after the Italo-Turkish war of 1912; the treaty of April, 1916, when Italy entered the war, had confirmed them to Italy. Thrace was given to Bulgaria after the war of 1912. All the territory claimed is almost exclusively inhabited by Greeks,



MAP OF GREECE, INCLUDING EPIRUS—AT THE NORTHWEST CORNER. THE BLACK AREA INDICATES THE TERRITORY CLAIMED BY M. VENIZELOS AT PARIS, AND THE SHADED AREA THE REGION WHERE THE GREEK AND FRENCH CLAIMS CONFLICT

who have never ceased to protest since 1913 against their annexation to Bulgaria—(84,652 Greeks, as against 31,875 Bulgarians.)

On Feb. 4 M. Venizelos ended his exposition of the Greek claims with a treatment of the questions of Constantinople and Asia Minor. The Greek Premier recalled all the injury done Europe by the Turkish possession of the straits. Basing herself upon her historical past, Greece claims the city on the ground that both in numbers and in quality it is dominated by Greeks, (200,000.) The Turkish element equals the Greek only in the number of its functionaries of all degrees, and of its garrison. Nevertheless, in view of the great interests at stake, it was understood that Greece would yield if it should be decided to give Constantinople to the League of Nations.

In Asia Minor, M. Venizelos stated, there lived 1,700,000 Greeks, who had suffered every form of persecution. The giving of Thrace and Asia Minor to a peaceful power like Greece instead of to Bulgaria and Turkey, whose past policies argue ill of the future, would be ad-

vantageous to the powers of the West. The freedom of the straits, he said, would be maintained.

The Conference Commission on Greek Claims submitted a report on March 13, but it was not unanimous. Most of the Commissioners favored giving Smyrna to Greece, but the American members held a different view, on the ground that Smyrna was essential as a port of exit and entrance for the vast commercial enterprises of the hinterland of Asia Minor. Thus divided, the report went before the council of the great powers for final decision.

Concerning the Dodecanese Islands, the commission was unanimous in recognizing the Greek civilization of the islands and the American delegates favored their incorporation in Greece, but the French, British, and Italian delegates, in view of the secret treaty of London, withheld their approval until the subject can be diplomatically adjusted with Italy.

The Commission on Greek Affairs, on March 2, debated at length the new situation to be created in Asia Minor.

ELIMINATION OF TURKEY

The general plan adopted for the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire is the total elimination of that empire, the internationalization of Constantinople, and the straits, the creation of a Turkish State in the centre of Asia Minor, and the liberation of all nationalities from the rule of Turkey.

As regards Asia Minor, the commission agreed in principle that the strip of the coast between Avali and Kos, including Smyrna and Ephesus, should be assigned to Greece as full owner or as international mandatary.

FINLAND AND ALAND ISLANDS

Toward the beginning of February the population of the Aland Islands sent to Paris a deputation to plead the cause of the islands, which wish to be reunited to Sweden, the mother country. This deputation consisted of two members of the Council of the archipelago and of M. Sunblom, an Aland Deputy in the Diet of Finland.

As soon as Finland separated from Russia, the Aland population, which is pure Swedish in origin, language, and

aspirations, sent an appeal to the King of Sweden for annexation. then proposed to Finland a plebiscite in the islands. Finland, however, opposed the aspirations of the population of the islands, supported in this opposition by all the press of the former Grand Duchy, to which the Aland Islands have been administratively attached. The Aland deputation spoke bitterly of the régime of oppression introduced by the various Finnish Governments and of the Prussian methods of repression used by the Military Governor von Bonsdorff, supported by Finnish-speaking troops. The Finns. they said, admit the principle of free choice for themselves, but not for the people of the islands. Finnish, a language which the Aland population do not understand at all, has been declared the official language of the new republic. General Mannerheim, they added, had characterized the Paris deputation as "traitors to the fatherland." In satisfying the national aspirations of the islands, the deputies declared, the Peace Conference would guarantee the security of Sweden and the peaceful development of the Scandinavian peoples.

Poland's Triple Warfare Over Boundaries

Other Events of the Month

[PERIOD ENDED MARCH 15, 1919]

THE Pacerewski Government, organized Jan. 19, 1919, issued a call for elections to choose delegates to a National Assembly to be held on Feb. 9. The elections were held in orderly fashion, and some of the figures are summarized below. They refer to the large centres where the "National Group" (formed by the National Democrats, the Progressives, the Realists, and the Populists) obtained a large majority:

In Warsaw, out of 287,000 votes the National Group received 150,000—as against 42,000 given to the Polish Socialists and 74,000 to the Jews—and put through ten Deputies, among them M. Paderewski and Roman Dmowski, the head of the Polish National Committee in

Paris. The Socialist and Jewish Parties each obtained three Deputies. In Lodz, out of 150,000 votes the National Group received 56,000, as against Socialists, 33,000; Germans, 18,000, and Jews, 28,000. In Cracow the National Group received 29,000 votes, as against 20,000 given to the Polish Socialists and 10,000 to the Jews. Among those elected from the National Group was Professor Stanislas Grabski, the well-known factional leader. Ignace Daszynski was one of those elected by the Socialists.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

The Constituent Assembly, so impatiently looked forward to by the whole Polish Nation, was opened in Warsaw

on Feb. 10. The city was decorated with flags. The official ceremonies began on Sunday, the 9th, with a solemn service in the cathedral, at which General Pilsudski, M. Paderewski, and all the Ministers, the Anglo-American Mission, with Colonel Wade at its head, the Pontifical delegate, the representatives of the Commission of Galicia, and the National Councils of Posnania and Silesia were present. A parade of the notabilities to the Belvedere palace, seat of the Government, followed, to the acclamations of an enthusiastic throng, through streets decked out with the Polish national flag. The solemn opening of the Diet took place the next day, under the Presidency of Prince Radziwill, who read a telegram announcing the arrival of Polish troops at Brest-Litovsk. General Pilsudski delivered an inaugural address in which he referred to the close bonds that united Poland and the Entente.

NEGOTIATIONS IN POSNANIA

A previous issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE referred to the negotiations carried on between the delegates of the Supreme Popular Council of Posnania and delegates of the German Government. These negotiations produced only negative results. The Germans held that the armistice recognized the German eastern frontiers of 1914, and consequently demanded the immediate evacuation of Posnania by the Polish troops and the reestablishment of the German authorities in Eastern Prussia. This demand the Poles refused and proposed a two weeks' truce, which the Prussian Cabinet rejected, declaring that it would consent to a suspension of hostilities only on withdrawal of the Polish troops from German soil.

The Germans were reported on Feb. 20 not to be observing the provisions of the armistice agreement as to fighting in Posen, and skirmishes occurred at scattered points. In a dispatch of March 4 the German Government was said to have informed General Dupont, head of the French Mission in Berlin, that it had decided to stop fighting the Poles in Posen and that it had sent officers to Posen to enforce its orders.

The Polish Governmental Commission

functioning in Lemberg, in view of the critical military situation in Eastern Galicia, sent two of its members, Dr. Ernest Adam and Dr. Edward Dubanowicz, to Paris to report the situation to the Polish National Committee there. In an interview with these delegates given in the Paris Temps of Feb. 8, the history of this war waged by the Ukrainians of Eastern Galicia in connivance with the Austro-German military circles, supported by Russian Ukrainians sent by Petliura and by bands of Bolshevist peasants, was recounted in some detail. The oil region of Boryslav furnished these forces the financial means to carry on the conflict, which, after three months, had now assumed a savage and destructive character. The Poles, lacking arms and equipment, had the greatest difficulty in protecting their territory from pillage and massacre and in defending the essentially Polish city of Lemberg, (Lvof or Leopol,) where more than 200,-000 Poles reside, especially in view of the triple menace of the Russian Bolsheviki on the north and of the Germans and Czechs on the west.

On Feb. 15 the fighting was being pushed on Lemberg, with the Ukrainians claiming gains, in an attempt to cut off the railway lines of the Poles into the city. From that time on they besieged Lemberg with increasing force, bombarding it with heavy guns. The Ukrainians were said to be desirous of capturing the city before the arrival of the Interallied Mission. Up to Feb. 22 the small Polish garrison in Lemberg had beaten off these new attacks. A four days' truce was entered into at Lemberg on Feb. 23 between the Poles and the Ukrainians.

On March 2 Premier Paderewski was advised that the Ukrainians, defying the Entente Powers, had denounced the armistice of Feb. 23, and resumed the attack upon Lemberg. The Ukrainian delegates sent a letter explaining that the resumption of hostilities was caused by reasons of a purely military character. On March 8 Premier Paderewski went to Posen to explain to the Interallied Mission the danger of the situation.

By March 13 the siege of Lemberg had become a serious matter. The Interallied Commission had quitted the place, since the Ukrainians had thwarted its every attempt at reconciliation. The Lemberg-Cracow railway was in possession of Ukrainian troops, and Lemberg itself was wholly cut off from outside aid and was being bombarded daily with hundreds of heavy shells which were fast destroying the town and killing its population.

CONFLICT IN TESCHEN

At Teschen, in Austrian Silesia, the conflicts between the Czechs and the Poles have been growing constantly more embittered. Clashes between the Czechoslovaks and the Poles, which had resulted in 1.000 men killed and 2,000 wounded, had quieted down about Feb. 18, both parties resting on their arms. Shortly following the arrival of the Interallied Mission the strike of the workmen came to an end as the result of the commission's appeal for order. The Czechs, however, later drove the Poles from Teschen, and refused to evacuate the district, despite the agreement made in Paris on Feb. 3. Anti-Polish demonstrations began again about March 2. As a result of the Czech occupation many Polish miners were out of work.

PEACE CONFERENCE MISSION

The Peace Conference decided to send a special mission to Poland to endeavor to reconcile the conflicting elements. This mission reached Warsaw from Paris by way of Prague on Feb. 12. Its arrival was made the occasion of an unprecedented ovation by all classes, including workmen's guilds and similar organizations, which previously had refrained from taking part in affairs of the Paderewski Government. Premier Paderewski received the mission, speaking to the members of each ality in their native tongues. The former French Ambassador to Russia, M. Noulens, now a member of the mission, brought the demonstrations in the street to a climax by shouting "Jeszcze Polska!" the first words of Poland's national anthem, meaning "Poland lives again!" from the balcony of the hotel.

A few days after the mission's arrival, it was decided, owing to the fact

that hostilities between the Ukrainians and Poles in East Galicia had not ceased and the Ukrainians were starting new attacks against Lemberg, that a special delegation from the Interallied Commission should be sent to Lemberg to confer with the Ukrainians in an endeavor to bring about an armistice with the shortest possible delay.

The Armistice Mission sent to Warsaw returned to Kiev with such assurances from the Poles that a new mission headed by Stepnicky was sent to Warsaw in the hope of concluding peace. Stepnicky was accompanied by numerous representatives of the Ukraine Government.

FIGHTING FOR OIL WELLS

The Interallied Commission faced many problems, the most important of which were the food supply and the differences between the Poles and the Ukrainians regarding the oil region near Lemberg, Galicia.

In regard to the oil dispute the Ukrainian Government announced that it would not negotiate with the Poles as long as the Poles occupied any of the territory in dispute. The announcement said that the negotiations with the allied representatives, Colonel Wade of the British Army and General Barthelmy of the French Army, failed because the officers accepted the Polish viewpoint and not the Ukrainian.

Members of the Interallied Mission to Poland were fired upon by Ukrainian soldiers while traveling on Feb. 20 from Cracow to Lemberg in a Polish armored train. The delegation, which included Professor Robert H. Lord of Harvard University and Major Gen. Francis J. Kiernan of the United States Army, was on its way to Lemberg to arrange an armistice between the Poles and the Ukrainians. Seven Poles on the train were wounded by Ukrainian bullets. The train returned, and notice was sent ahead that the mission was coming. The efforts of this delegation resulted in an armistice on Feb. 23, but this truce was broken by the Ukrainians, who resumed hostilities on March 2.

During the session of the Polish National Assembly on Feb. 20 M. Trompcyski, the President of the Assembly, read a telegram from the Polish National Council, at Teschen, Austrian Silesia, to the effect that the Czechoslovaks had refused to evacuate Teschen. President Trompcyski then prepared a telegram, for transmission through M. Paderewski, to the Interallied Mission concerning the incident.

On Feb. 24 the mission sent a delegation to Prague to act as mediators in the conflicts between the Poles and the Czechoslovaks.

Notwithstanding the request of the Interallied Commission, the Czechs refused to evacuate part of the region near Teschen which they had recently occupied, and the situation on March 13 seemed to be delicate. The Czechs rejected the proposals of the commission, and claimed that the commission was incompetent as a result of the departure of General Grenart, a French representative, for Paris, and of Professor A. C. Coolidge, an American delegate, for Warsaw.

The situation in Teschen still being threatening, representatives of the mission were sent to arrange new armistice terms between the Germans and the Poles. They left Posen on March 5 to meet the German delegation sent from Berlin to arrange conditions. The place set for the meeting was the town of Kreuz, on the Brandenburg-Posen border.

THE POSEN NEGOTIATIONS

The negotiations at Kreuz began auspiciously. The courteous demeanor of the German delegates, in marked contrast with that shown last year at Brest-Litovsk, was noted. The commission had power to define a neutral zone. The allied representatives asked guarantees for the landing and passage of Polish troops from Danzig; the German delegates telegraphed to Berlin for instructions. The liberation of hostages and the protection of Germans in Posen and Poles in Germany were taken up, and Posen was selected as the seat of future deliberations.

M. Paderewski arrived in Posen on March 8 to explain to the Interallied Mission the critical position of the Poles on the Lemberg front. The fall of Lemberg, said the Premier, would produce the most painful impression on the Poles, and strengthen the extreme left of the opposition in the Diet to the Paderewski Government. On March 11 the negotiations were reported to be proceeding satisfactorily, so far as the economic conditions were concerned, but the German military delegates had gone to Kolberg to confer with von Hindenburg about the military arrangements. Only two days later (March 13) the negotiations were broken off, according to the Berlin Tägliche Rundschau; the dispatch stated that the Germans had already left Posen "as a protest against their treatment by the Allies."

PILSUDSKI'S POWERS

The second important meeting of the Polish National Assembly was held in Warsaw on Feb. 20, and was marked by the formal turning over by General Pilsudski of his authority as dictator, and the returning of it to him, subject to the approval of the Diet. The Diet subsequently confirmed his powers as Chief of State until a constitutional form of Government should be adopted. At this session Premier Paderewski, in a long address, declared that the country needed a large army and compulsory service in order to fight Bolshevism. Better homes must be given the workmen, he said, and land to the peasants; equal rights and freedom of speech must be guaranteed.

The Westward Ho, a steamer of 7,000 tons, carrying a cargo of 6,500 tons of fats, condensed milk, and flour, and 500 tons of clothing, entered the Baltic on Feb. 20, and helped to relieve the serious want in Poland. In addition three cargoes of food, each of 3,000 tons, were in Rotterdam on the way to Poland. For the cargo of the Westward Ho nearly \$2,500,000 was raised by Poles and Polish Jews in the United States, each contributing half the amount.

POLAND AND RUSSIA

Polish forces at about this time were moving steadily eastward along the railways, with Grodno, Slonim, Pinsk, and Lutsk as objectives. These forces aimed to establish order and prepare the way for civil government, with the final intent of occupying Poland's historic frontiers. Thus far they had met with no determined resistance on the part of the Bolsheviki. Premier Paderewski, on the other hand, addressed a telegram to the Bolshevist Foreign Minister to Moscow, Tchitcherin, expressing a desire to enter into negotiations with the Lenine-Trotzky Government to terminate the conflict between Russia and Poland. Tchitcherin expressed his willingness to receive delegates from the Polish Republic. On March 2 a dispatch reported severe fighting with the Bolsheviki on the Polish northern front east of Kovel.

PADEREWSKI GOVERNMENT RECOGNIZED

Official announcement was made on Feb. 21 that the representatives of the Allies had decided to recognize the Polish Government headed by Ignace Jan Paderewski. Recognition of the Paderewski Government by the Allies ended a long controversy between the Polish authorities in their own country and the Polish Committee in Paris, headed by The United States recognized the belligerency of the Pilsudski group in Poland on Nov. 4 and unofficially sustained Paderewski's aspirations. France and Great Britain had previously recognized Poland's belligerency through the Dmowski Committee.

Premier Paderewski offered his resignation to General Pilsudski on Feb. 23; the latter declined to accept it, and asked M. Paderewski to continue his functions. General Pilsudski had made a similar offer to the olish Diet; M. Paderewski's resignation was likewise but a formality.

Nettled by American opposition to the big Polish army which was being formed while the Peace Conference was sitting, Premier Paderewski told an Associated Press correspondent at Warsaw on March 1 that the Polish army of 350,000 men proposed was to be a police force to restore order on the Polish frontiers and to keep back Bolshevism. The German peril in Russia, he pointed out, must also be considered. "Your advice to us not to fight," he said, "is good advice for a dying man, but not for a man who wishes to live and enjoy liberty.".

THE POLISH "CORRIDOR"

The corridor which the Peace Conference Commission on Polish Claims had agreed should go to Poland as a means of exit to the Baltic Sea was outlined on March 17 as follows:

On the west the corridor would begin on the shore of the Baltic west of Danzig and would include a small part of Pomerania, which is inhabited by Poles. Thence it would run east of Lauenburg, and, continuing southward, east of Konitz and Schneidemuhl.

The eastern border of the corridor would run through Frische Nehrung, thence through Frische Haff to the west of Elbing and Osterode, which were left to Germany, and thence south to the present Prussian-Poland border.

The western border of Poland from Schneidemuhl southward would give Birnbaum, Lissa, and Krotoschin to Poland. In German Silesia the Poles would get the regions of Oppeln and Kewpen. The Polish and Czech frontiers would meet east of Neustadt, south of Oppeln.

The report of the Polish Commission on the eastern boundary proposed to give Germany direct land communication across the corridor to the Baltic, which had been accorded to Poland and which cut off part of East Prussia from the rest of Germany. The report suggested that for Poland's security the German territory to the east of the corridor be demilitarized. It was also proposed by the commission that the 600,000 Protestant Poles in the Mazurian Lake region be allowed to determine by plebiscite whether they should join Catholic Poland or remain German.

The Case of Northern Epirus

By N. J. CASSAVETES

[DIRECTOR OF PAN-EPIROTIC UNION IN AMERICA]

The author of this article is Director of the Pan-Epirotic Union, an organization for making known the aspirations of the Greeks of Epirus. He presents here the Greek side of the case, backing up the claims laid before the Peace Conference by M. Venizelos.

[See Map of Greece and Epirus on Page 62]

In 1913 the Greek Army occupied Epirus as far north as Chimara, Korytza, and Lake Ochrida. Mme. Jeanne Leune and M. René Puaux, both correspondents of the Temps of Paris, bear witness that the people of Epirus received the Greek forces with enthusiasm as liberators and brothers. M. Puaux, who is now in the Cabinet of M. Clemenceau, in his book, "La Malheureuse Epire," extolls the Hellenic sentiment of the Epirotes and appeals to France to lend her influence for the union of Epirus with Greece.

Italy and Austria, covetors of Albania and Epirus, sent an ultimatum to Greece to withdraw her troops from Northern Enirus

At the Ambassadorial Conference of London in 1913 two-thirds of Epirus was annexed to the Albanian State. In 1914 the Greek troops began to evacuate Northern Epirus, despite the universal entreaties of the Northern Epirotes to stay. No sooner had the Greek Army departed than the inhabitants, Christians and Mussulmans, broke out into revolution and defeated the Moslem Gheghs of the Prince of Wied.

Colonel Murray of the British Army made a tour of three months, and covered most of Northern Epirus. His lectures on "Northern Epirus in 1914" gave proof that the Northern Epirote revolution was spontaneous and against the will of M. Venizelos. The enemies of the Epirotes have attempted to diminish the significance of this outbreak of national aspirations by stating that the Greek Government suborned the Epirotes to revolt; but the Governments of Italy and Austria, the principal parties interested in an Albanian Northern Epirus, have officially admitted that the Government of Greece acquitted itself, honorably in the case, fulfilling every stipulation of the Conference of London. The Epirotes rose unassisted and fought for their rights and liberties until even the Triple Alliance was forced to recognize, in 1914, in the Protocol of Corfu, the autonomy of Northern Epirus and the Greek character of the Epirotes.

Arnold Toynbee, in "New Europe" and in "Greek Policies Since 1882," writes: "They are Greeks, like any one else, but some of them happen to speak Albanian. * * * The Epirote has become Greek in soul. Hellenism and nationality have become for him identical ideas, and, when at last the hour of deliverance struck, he welcomed the Greek armies that marched into his country from the south and from the east, after the fall of Jannina, in 1913, with the same enthusiasm with which the islanders of Crete or of Chios welcomed them."

René Puaux, in "La Malheureuse Epire," says: "It was a travesty of justice to put the Epirotes at the mercy of the Moslem majority on the ground that they happened to speak the same language. To surrender to an artificial Albanian people which differs from the Albanians in language, in civilization, in religion, and in aspirations is a crime. All Epirus from Cape St. Basil to Cape St. John is absolutely Greek; and their friends and relatives constitute the intellectual and plutocratic aristocracy of Athens and Patras."

The Turkish census of 1908, previous to the first Young Turk Parliamentary election, gives the population of Epirus as 311,000 Greeks and 176,000 Albanians, Turks, and Jews.

There are in Epirus 950 elementary Greek schools with 28,820 pupils; three colleges for boys, (Jannina, Konitza, Korytza;) and one college for girls, (Jannina;) 2,000 Greek churches; 189 Greek monasteries—all self-supported and endowed by Epirotes who have made fortunes abroad.

Korytza, the city which the Albanians refer to as the centre of Albanian culture, maintains one Greek college for boys, with 100 pupils; one Greek girls' high school, with 750 girls; two Greek kindergartens, with 700 children. In all, in a city of 25,000, there are 2,200 boys and girls attending Greek schools, where instruction in Greek is given by ten professors, fifteen male and fourteen female teachers, and four kindergarten instructors. The total appropriation made by the city for this instruction was, in 1914, 70,000 francs.

In the District of Korytza, with a Christian population of over 43,000, there are maintained 120 Greek schools, with 180 Greek teachers and 12,500 Greek pupils of both sexes. The Albanians have in Korytza only one girls' school with forty girls.

The Epirotes support the schools by local taxation and through the endowments of rich Epirotes, like Baron Sinas, who acquired his wealth in Vienna and left his millions for Greek schools at Korytza and for the erection and maintenance of the splendid academy at Athens. John Bangas of Korytza, who died twenty years ago, left 2,000,000 francs in the National Bank of Greece, and from the interest on this money 20,000 francs yearly are used for the maintenance of the Greek College of Anastassius Adamides, like-Korvtza. wise of Korytza, has built the Church of St. George, has founded and endowed the two high schools for boys, and has established a drug store where the poor citizens of Korytza get medicines gratis. He also has left in the National Bank of Greece large sums of money, the interest of which is used to enable poor and deserving Greek girls of Korytza to marry with a dower. Other public-spirited citizens of Korytza have performed similar services. What has prompted these benefactors to leave their fortunes for Greek culture, unless it be their Greek conscience?

But the Epirotes have not made Epirus alone a country where Greek letters and Greek learning are intensely cultivated. They have endowed Athens with the Academy, with the Rhizarion Theological Seminary, with the Arsakion College for Girls, (where 3,000 Greek girls receive higher instruction each year.) The Observatory at Athens, the National Greek University, the Polytechnic Institute, the Military Academy, the famous Greek Stadium, the modern Prison of Averoff, the battleship Averoff, the Zographion at Constantinople, (a Greek college,) and other princely gifts are the contributions of Epirotes.

Amadori Virgili, an Italian officer charged with the task of organizing Italian propaganda in Epirus in order to Albanicize the Epirotes, wrote in 1908 in La Questione Rumeliota: "The Christians hate the Albanian language; the Mussulmans do not care for it at all." M. Puaux wrote: "The Epirotes are more Greek than the Greeks themselves." It is to be hoped that this intensely Hellenic Province will be ultimately united with Greece.

Albania at the Peace Conference

By CONSTANTINE A. CHEKREZI

[AUTHOR OF "ALBANIA, PAST AND PRESENT," ALBANIAN DELEGATE IN THE UNITED STATES]

A FTER more than four years of suspension of her independence Albania is again organized as an independent nation with a central administrative body. On Dec. 25, 1918, fifty-four delegates from the various Albanian provinces assembled at Durazzo, the old and actual provisional capital, and con-

stituted the first Albanian Government since the day when the German Prince William of Wied left the country, over which he was unable to rule for more than six months. William of Wied was succeeded in power by Essad Pasha, the Albanian adventurer, who fared no better than his predecessor.

William had been successfully opposed by a part of his subjects; Essad Pasha was attacked by nearly the whole Albanian people.

Albania now has a Government of its own choice, organized by chosen representatives of the people assembled in a National Convention. The Constituent act, by virtue of which the new Government was established, is as follows:

The Delegates of all the Albanian regions assembled at Durazzo:

Having full confidence in the declarations made by the great powers of the Entente on behalf of the defense of the rights of small nationalities;

Relying on the noble principles proclaimed by the President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson, with regard to the right of self-determination of peoples;

Referring especially to the decision of the Conference of London, (1912-13,) which recognized and proclaimed Albania free and independent;

After having heard of the declarations of the initiators of this Assembly, Messrs. Mufid Libohova and M. Konitza, on the necessity of creating a national executive body;

DECREED UNANIMOUSLY the formation of a Provisional Government to confront the present situation of the country.

As President of the Provisional Government His Excellency Turkham Pasha, and as Vice President His Excellency Brenk Bib Doda Pasha, were elected.

As members of the Government were elected the following: Sami Vrioni, Mgr. Louis Bumchi, Mufid Libohova, Dr. Michel Turtulli, M. Konitza, Louis Gurakuki, Midhat Frasheri, Le. Nosi, Feizi Alizoti, Peter Poga, Mehdi Frasheri, and M. Kruja.

A part of the membership of the Government shall remain in Albania, and the remainder shall form the Albanian Delegation to the Peace Conference of Paris.

Done and executed at Durazzo, Dec. 25, 1918.

SIGNATURES OF THE 54 DELEGATES.

The Albanian Peace Delegation consists of the President of the Provisional Government, Turkhan Pasha; the Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Konitza, and the three Ministers without portfolio: Dr. Michel Turtulli, Mgr. Louis Bumchi, and Midhat Frasheri. The Albanian Delegation was officially received at Paris and the presentation of the Albanian case was made by Turkhan

Pasha, M. Konitza, and Dr. Michel Turtulli.

In the new Government the Nationalist Albanian Party holds the majority of the posts for the first time in the history of Albania, a fact which marks a happy beginning for reconstituted Albania. Another h'hly interesting feature is that the National Assembly of Durazzo based the cause of Albania on the principles enunciated by the American Chief Executive, a deserved tribute to the statesmer ship of President Wilson. It is thus that Albania comes to the fore with a republican form of government, the first to be created directly by representatives of the people.

As to the policy which the Provisional Government is pursuing, that has been made clear through an official statement issued by the new Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Konitza, formerly Albanian Minister to Greece. The statement. which appeared in extenso in the Italian press, contains the explicit declaration that the policy of the Government is to safeguard the independence and territorial integrity of Albania. Another of M. Konitza's principal demands is that the Albanian territories which were given away to Serbia, Montenegro, and Greece by the London Conference of 1912-13 should now be returned to Albania, on the ground that their restitution affords the only logical and just settlement of the Balkan problem in accordance with the principles of nationality and self-determination. With regard to the large Albanian province of Kossovo, which was assigned to Serbia along with a million Albanian inhabitants, the Minister stated that the restitution of this province was a matter not only of justice but also of expediency. inasmuch as these Albanians are today, as they have always been, in a state of revolt against the Serbian rule.

On the question of Albania's relations with her neighbors, M. Konitza declared that his country was determined to be on the best terms with them, but that this was impossible so long as these States insist on keeping under their rule large Albanian majorities which were clamoring for union with Albania. He

laid especial stress on the case of the Kutzo-Valachian population of the Pindus Mountains, Eastern Epirus, which was included in the Greek State in 1912. He stated that this Christian population was demanding, through its leaders and delegates, that their province be included in Albania, inasmuch as Greece was trampling on their rights as a minority.

On Feb. 15, 1919, the Albanian delegation in Paris presented to the Peace Conference a detailed memorandum on the case of Albania. The memorandum asked the Peace Conference to acknowledge the rights of Albania, which had been sacrificed by the Congress of Berlin in 1878, and by the London Conference in 1913. It also recalled that the Albanians had revolted, at the beginning of the war, against a Government which was under the control of the Central Powers, and that they had permitted the retiring Serbian Army to reach the Adriatic Sea in 1915.

The new Government claims all the territories given to Montenegro, Serbia, and Greece by the London Conference of 1913, inasmuch as most of the people inhabiting those territories are Albanians. Reparation is demanded for the damage willfully done in Southern Albania when the latter province was devastated by irregular Greek bands and regular Greek troops, and for the damage wrought to the country by the armies of the Central Powers.

On Feb. 24 the Albanian delegation was admitted to the Peace Conference and argued orally the case of Albania. The territorial claims were referred to the Committee on Greek Claims, and the

Albanian delegates were heard again before that committee. A correspondent of a New York paper cabled from Paris under date of Feb. 24 that "another subject touched upon by the Supreme Interallied Council was the claim of Albania to the extension of its territory by the annexation of portions of Greece and Serbia." There is no question of annexation; the Albanian delegation merely demands the restitution of Albanian territories which were taken away under the old system of diplomacy.

At the hearing before the commission dealing with Greek questions on Feb. 27 a heated controversy arose regarding the final settlement of the question of Southern Albania, which Greece claims as being inhabited by a Greek majority, and regarding the Northeastern Albanian provinces. On March 7 the Albanian delegation sent a note to Premier Clemenceau, as President of the Conference, proposing that in the event that its claims were not admitted by the Supreme Council a mandate be given to the United States to occupy and administer for one year the territories claimed by the Albanians. These claims, as set forth by the delegation, include Tchameria to the south as well as the Albanian territories annexed to Montenegro and

Should the Conference accept this proposal, the Albanian delegation stated, the Albanians were willing that the mandate should apply also to Northern Epirus, claimed by both Albania and Greece, under such conditions that the people would be able to manifest their aspirations without restraint.

New Territorial Problems in Asia

Armenia and an American Mandate

THE British Armenian Committee met on Feb. 27 in the House of Commons, and among the matters discussed was President Wilson's utterance in his Boston speech concerning Armenia. This utterance, couched in the form of a question, was as follows:

Have you thought of the sufferings of Armenia? You poured out your money to help succor the Armenians after they suffered. Now set your strength so that they shall never suffer again.

A resolution was unanimously adopted by the committee urging the people of the United States, in accordance with the President's appeal, to accept the mandate for the administration of Armenia under the League of Nations.

Miran Sevasly, Chairman of the Armenian National Council of America, was in Washington March 5 conferring with officials regarding the question of the United States becoming the mandatary for Armenia under the proposed League of Nations. Mr. Sevasly said the people of Armenia, as well as Armenians in America and Europe, desired that the United States act as mandatary for their country, and that, while they would have to accept the will of the majority nations, they did not wish to have a European nation as mentor.

The general attitude of Americans on this proposition was summed up by Oscar Straus, former American Minister to Turkey, in these words:

The United States must never take a mandate for any of these new or small States in Europe or Asia Minor. It would involve us in endless trouble.

M. PICHON'S STATEMENT

France is in favor of an American mandate for Armenia, being desirous of having this nation's capital and influence at work on that side of the ocean. For the sake of being concrete, an interviewer asked M. Pichon, the French Foreign Minister, what the American mandate for Armenia would probably cover geographically, because as yet there was no independent Armenia marked out on the map by the Peace Conference; also, what would America's task consist of, and how long would it last. M. Pichon replied:

It would last for centuries. It would be a permanent trust or undertaking, because of the nature of the population. There is no large section of territory in what is now Turkey in which the Armenian inhabitants are in the majority. Remember always the fact that the balance of population against the Armenians themselves in their own territory is due largely to massacres. Three hundred thousand of them were massacred under the rule of Abdul Hamid. A million more were massacred during the war. But if the Turks outnumber them now even as much as two to one, the Armenians own at least five-sixths of the property. The latter are thrifty traders. The Turks are shiftless peasants. There is a simplicity

about the Turks' bookkeeping methods which accounts in large part for their numerical superiority of population. When the debts of a Turkish community become too heavy they kill their Armenian creditors to wipe out the account.

It is to put an end to such proceedings as that, as well as to develop Armenia politically, socially, and economically, that mandatory supervision by the United States or some other civilized power is absolutely necessary.

The foregoing proposal of France indicates a change of mind since January, when, according to an Associated Press dispatch, she was planning a French guardianship over Armenia, Syria, and Lebanon, in conformity with treaties signed with Great Britain and Russia in 1915. Palestine, under this plan, with its complexity of nationalities and religions, would be placed under international protection. England would be responsible for the Arabian peninsula, with the exception of the Kingdom of Hedjaz, which would be free.

The population of the Island of San Lazzaro, near Venice, curiously enough, is deeply interested in the decision to be made regarding Armenia. For more than two centuries this island has been an Armenian oasis transplanted to the Venetian lagoons. It is the seat of the religious head of Catholic Armenia, representing the Mekhitarists, which has branches throughout the world.

THE ARAB CLAIMS

The case which the Emir Feisal, in the name of the King of the Hedjaz, put before the Conference on Feb. 6, is that of the right of the widely scattered Arab people to national recognition and national unity. The Arab argument is that the whole of the vast block of territory south of the line drawn eastward from Alexandretta to the Persian frontier, and inclosed on the east, south, and west by Persia, the Persian Gulf, the Indian Ocean, the Red Sea, and the Mediterranean, is inhabited by Arabs; that is, by people of a common Semitic stock, speaking Arabic and cherishing the faith of Islam. In Western Syria there are several ancient but small Christian communities. In Palestine there are the Jews, and Jewish and Christian traders are found in most of the important

towns. Yet the proportion of non-Arabic speaking inhabitants is placed at less than one per cent. of the whole.

In further justification of their claims, the Arabs point to their wonderful history, their centuries of persistent struggle to avoid absorption by the Turks, and their services to the allied cause in the present war.

Nevertheless, there are grave obstacles in the way of the Arab demand. Their main prayer is not to be divided into spheres of influence. But Greater Araby was, in fact, divided into spheres of influence by an agreement concluded between Great Britain and France before the Arab came into the war. France taking Syria and Great Britain Mesopotamia. Both Governments formally declared in November, 1918, that their intention was not to impose any particular institution on the populations of these countries, but to support such indigenous administrations as the people should set up by their own will and choice.

CHINA'S ASPIRATIONS

The Executive Committee of the China Society of America sent this cablegram to the American Peace Commissioners at Paris:

The China Society bespeaks for the President and his associates at the Peace Conference favorable consideration of the claims and deservings of China. recognition of the absolute right of the Chinese people to direct their own affairs without dictation from outside is just as necessary as similar recognition for any other power. We warmly commend the attitude of the Chinese delegation now in Paris in asking for China as an allied nation the full recognition of its sovereignty, the right to regulate its own customs service, subject only to its freely made financial obligations, the restoration of all territory in China formerly held by Germany and Austria: the equality of China with all allied nations in treaty rights, and equal commercial opportunities along with the open-door policy promulgated by John Hay and his successors.

China does not ask to be relieved of her proper obligations, but does insist upon her right to ask that all treaties and agreements made by her during the present war should be classed as similar treaties, made between ally nations, and that the right of China to make treaties favorable to her normal development

should be recognized in the present world readjustment.

China has been seriously handicapped by unjust treaty regulations imposed upon her, such as the 5 per cent. tariff, and in her efforts to secure the funds required to develop her national resources, maintain her railways, industries, and other enterprises. We ask that China be relieved from the oppressive influences and exactions forced upon her by outside pressure.

PETITION FROM KOREA

A Peking dispatch of Feb. 28 stated that members of the "Independence Committee," representing the Korean people living in China, had presented to the American Minister a petition asking that the United States Government intercede with the Peace Conference in behalf of the Korean people. Accompanying the petition was the following interesting document, setting forth the Korean claims:

Firstly-For 4,000 years Korea was an independent nation.

Secondly—The Kingdom of Korea during the last few hundred years of its existence paid tribute in native produce to China. China did not interfere with the internal administration of the country, which had its own administration and was entirely independent.

Thirdly—Using as a pretext the independence of Korea, Japan went to war with China in 1894 and 1895. The Treaty of Shimonoseki admitted the independence of Korea, which was recognized by various foreign powers. Japan's assistance of Korea was only a pretext for the purpose of robbing Korea of its sovereignty, and was actually in fulfillment of Japan's purpose to injure the Korean administration.

Fourthly—In 1904 Japan went to war 71th Russia. She declared that the war 7as fought to maintain the independence of Korea.

Fifthly—Japan annexed Korea in 1910, abandoning her national honor and treaty obligations. The act was in total defiance of moral principles. That was in an age when might made right and no nation offered objection or extended pity to Korea.

Sixthly—Under the pressure of Japan, the insane Emperor of Korea gave up the sovereignty of the country.

Seventhly—One man, Liwan Yung, knew about this act. Can one man give privately one nation to another nation? Is it a thing to be pawned? This was not the action of the nation, but of its Emperor.

Eighthly—Japan surrounded the Korean Emperor's palace with troops of a model army and spies were placed everywhere to terrorize the Koreans.

Ninthly—Paying them well, Japan bought the traitors of Korea. Many refused to accept the filthy money and those who could not be bought were imprisoned.

President Wilson was asked by the Korean National Association of the United States to initiate action at the Peace Conference looking to independence for Korea, with the country to be guided by a mandatary until such time as the League of Nations should decide that it was "fit for full self-government."

COLONIES IN THE PACIFIC

One of the most delicate questions before the Peace Congress is the settlement of the rival claims to the Pacific islands and Kiao-Chau, on the southern coast of the Peninsula of Shantung, China, formerly German colonies. The islands are almost the only countries specifically mentioned in the covenant of the League of Nations as requiring particular guardianship. The references in this document to their small size and "geographical contiguity to the mandatary State" were regarded by the world as foreshadowing their division among the powers that had administered them since they were taken from Germany four years agothat is, by Japan, Australia, and New Zealand-and the absence of mention of Kiao-Chau in the connection was taken to indicate that that little territory would be returned to China.

General Townshend in Captivity

General Sir Charles Townshend told the story of his two and a half years of captivity to his fellow-townsmen of Norfolk some weeks after his release. After referring to the sufferings that had finally forced him to surrender Kut-el-Amara and his whole army to the Turks. he said he would like to tell of his experiences as a prisoner. All information about his men was kept from him. He was at once taken away by the Turks, and when he arrived at Constantinople he was met by the officers of the army at that place. They treated him with great honor. He was closely watched, for he did not give his parole. All the letters he endeavored to send, and all that were sent to him, were burned. But the main trouble rested with the

He asked Enver Pasha to lighten the men's captivity and get parole, and Enver promised most politely that everything would be done, but he spoke to the German officers, and everything promised was altered. Townshend had heard nothing at that time of the horrors that happened on the march, and had since been made clear in May, 1918. He got a letter from Earl Curzon telling him of the horrors of the march, and it was only then that he understood what had happened.

Finally Enver Pasha's Government was withdrawn, and the next day the new Government sent for him, and said, "Will you help us?" He said he would on one condition-he must be free before he left the Sublime Porte, and if Turkey wanted England to make peace they must open the Dardanelles. He came away with the consent of the opening of the Dardanelles in his pocket and a promise for liberation at once of prisoners of war and also a promise that the Black Sea fleet should not come through the Bosporus, not a bad half hour's work. The armistice signed by the Turkish envoys and Admiral Calthorp on the Island of Lemnos a few days later was the result of General Townshend's mis-

Civil Warfare in Germany

Assassination of Kurt Eisner and the Radical Upheaval That Followed It Throughout the Country

[PERIOD ENDED MARCH 18, 1919]

THE efforts of the Ebert Government to construct a stable form of public order continued in February and March to meet with sinister counter-revolutionary activities. ness, both from the cessation of industry and what had been termed "war weariness" seeking relief in an orgy of extravagant pleasure, together with increasing food shortage, were contributing elements furthering the efforts of the Spartacans to plunge the whole nation into political and social chaos. As if grasping a firebrand ready to the hand of opportunity, supporters of the fallen monarchy came out of hiding to add to the general tumult.

After Feb. 15 strikes spread with alarming rapidity from Berlin throughout Central Germany to the Ruhr industrial region along the Rhine. A Berlin dispatch of Feb. 17 stated that the Ruhr district Soviets in conference demanded the reinstatement of the Münster Council in all its rights, and the removal, trial, and punishment of General von Watten, together with his officers, for dissolving the Seventh Army Corps Soldiers' Council. After occupying a number of places, the Spartacans proceeded to fortify the waterworks and electric power houses at Düsseldorf, Mülheim, and Hamborn. Armed Spartacans had reached Essen. An anti-Government order was issued against the delivery of coal requisitioned by the Government. Coal production in the Ruhr district had fallen to 10 per cent. of normal. The Government was concentrating 30,000 troops to suppress the Spartacans in the Ruhr district, and Marshal Foch had agreed to the employment of such troops in the neutral zone to deal with local

At Munich, Bavaria, Dr. Levine, a Russian Bolshevik, recently liberated by the Munich Spartacans, made a speech in which he demanded that the members of the Ministry who were opposing Eisner be thrown out and that a Soviet republic be instituted.

REPORT OF BRITISH OFFICERS

A report of the conditions in Germany issued by an investigating commission of twelve British officers, under date of Paris, Feb. 20, stated that either famine or Bolshevism—probably both—would ensue before the next harvest, if outside help were not forthcoming. The chief places visited by the officers were Berlin, Munich, Hamburg, Hanover, Leipsic, Dresden, Magdeburg, and Cassel. They found 200,000 unemployed in Berlin, increasing at the rate of 5,000 a day; 72,000 in Hamburg, Munich 32,000, and Leipsic 22,000. The report continued:

The increase in unemployment forms the most dangerous element in the present situation. Unemployment and hunger are the chief predisposing causes of Bolshevism, and if these are removed there will be no chance of Bolshevism gaining a foothold in Germany.

All over Germany, except in the coal field areas, industry is stagnant, owing to lack of coal. Railway transport is crippled throughout the country because of the enormous quantity of rolling stock lost since last November, partly under the armistice and partly through abandonment on the front.

The shortage of staple articles of food throughout the country is such that the mass of the population is living upon rations, which, while maintaining life, are insufficient to nourish the body adequately. Mothers and young children are particularly affected. Malnutrition has increased the mortality, diminished births, and given rise to new diseases.

It is difficult to confirm the accuracy of official statements as to the dates when present food stocks will be exhausted, but in general the following terminal dates given by the Central Food Office in Berlin are probably correct: Breadstuffs, the beginning of April; potatoes, the end of

May. The meat ration can be continued indefinitely at the cost of slaughtering all milch cows and breeding stock.

ASSASSINATION OF EISNER

The threatened revolt in Bavaria broke out with startling results Feb. 21. Kurt Eisner, the Bavarian Premier, was passing through Pramerstrasse with his Secretary, Herr Merkle from the Foreign Ministry, to attend the opening of the Landtag. Suddenly Lieutenant Count Arco Valley, formerly an officer in the Prussian Guard, shouted "Down with the Revolution! Long live the Kaiser!" and fired at Eisner from behind at a distance of a few yards. Two bullets entered the Premier's head and he fell dead on the pavement. A sailor promptly shot and mortally wounded the assassin.

News of the tragedy was brought to the Landtag by a Bavarian soldier. He rushed into the Chamber with Eisner's blood-stained spectacles in his hand and shouted, "Eisner has been murdered." Consternation at once seized upon the Deputies. Subsequently, while Herr Auer, Minister of the Interior, was officially announcing the tragedy, a volley of firing swept from the public gallery. Herr Auer was severely wounded, Deputy Osel killed, and two other officials wounded. A panic ensued among the Deputies, who fled the building. The panic communicated itself to the crowds gathered in the streets.

Chancellor Scheidemann in announcing the assassination of Eisner to the National Assembly at Weimar said:

With the greatest sorrow and indignation I have to inform you that the Bavarian Premier, Kurt Eisner, champion of the revolution, has been shot by a fanatic. Munich is the scene of a bloody civil war and my friends Rosshaupter and Auer are said to be dead.

The Government expresses the deepest sorrow and condemnation of these shameful acts of murder. Nothing shows the breakdown of order more clearly than when murder becomes a political weapon. If the sacrificial death of Herr Eisner has good results, they will be in bringing us all together to do awey with evil conditions. It would mean the ruin of Germany if all did not take this view and join in this condemnation.

The career of Premier Eisner since the downfall of the old régime had been sensational in several aspects. His fearlessness in revealing Germany's guilty part in the war had raised for him many enemies. His frequent denunciation of the weakness of the Ebert Government, his unqualified repudiation of Bolshevism, no less marked his strength of character. Julian Grande cabled from Berne Feb. 22:

Premier Eisner's murder has cast deep gloom over Switzerland, especially over Berne, where he recently spent a week attending the International Labor and Socialist Congress, and over Basle, where only a few Cays ago he addressed a meeting of university students. * * * What made Eisner so much detested recently in Bavaria and Germany generally was his straightforward speech at the International Congress here admitting Germany's responsibility for the war.

TURMOIL IN MUNICH

Two insurrections accompanied the Eisner tragedy. The Reactionaries, with the aid of demobilized Bavarian blue-jackets, attacked the Diet House and occupied the telegraph office, but were eventually dislodged by Government troops. The Spartacans stormed the Munich Police Headquarters and arrested the Chief of Police. Ministers known to have been wounded, besides Herr Auer, were Herr Timm, Minister of Justice; Herr Unterleitner, Minister of Social Affairs, and Herr Rosshaupter, Minister of War.

Advices of the 22d showed that Munich had, for the moment, become the storm centre of revolutionary activity. murder of Eisner had roused the populace to fury in the belief that it was the outcome of a monarchist-military All stores and factories were closed, while motor cars bearing red flags and placards which read "Revenge for Eisner" hurried through the streets. Armed demonstrators began firing guns and looting shops. Numerous arrests among the aristocracy were made, including Prince Joachim, youngest son of the ex-Kaiser. The dethroned King Ludwig took alarm and fled from one castle to another through forests reminiscent of the vagaries of mad kings until he later succeeded in reaching the Austrian Tyrol with other members of the former royal family. The revolt spread to

Augsburg, where cavalry and sailors were used in clearing the streets of rioting mobs. At Nuremberg the prisons were opened and street fighting took place. The entire Bavarian delegation to the National Assembly left Weimer for Munich, thus threatening to postpone debate on the Constitution.

From out this chaos the Central Soviet Council gained control. The Frankfurter Zeitung of Feb. 23 stated that the Committee of Eleven of this body had met the remainder of the old Ministry on the preceding morning and informed them that the new Government would be on the Bolshevist model and that the committee would assume supreme power. Only three of the Ministers were retained. Herren Frauendorff, Jaffi and Unterleitner. By the 24th conditions had settled down to a fair measure of order. A message of the 25th was responsible for the statement that Herr Scheid had been named Bavarian Premier in succession to Kurt Eisner, and Herr Segitz, a Majority Socialist, was Bavarian Minister of the Interior in place of Herr

A cable from Geneva to The New York Times of the same date gave further information of the tragic events in Munich. It revealed the origin of the plot as follows:

The plot of the Monarchists and the military party to do away with Eisner was planned some time ago. Eisner's attitude at the Berne Socialist Congress, where he intrepidly exposed the war guilt of the Central Powers, sealed his doom. After his second speech at the Berne conference, in which he revealed the inhuman treatment in licted by the German military authorities on allied prisoners of war, Eisner remarked to friends who congratulated him on his courageous frankness: "You don't know what Germany is like today. By making this speech I have probably signed my death warrant."

But it was above all another statement of Eisner's at Berne, made this time not in a public session but in a committee meeting of Socialist leaders, which goaded the military party to take murderous action, for in this committee meeting, at which the Bolshevist question was the subject of discussion, the Bavarian Premier solemnly declared he had documentary evidence in his possession proving that the German General Staff continued, even

today, to entertain secret relations with Lenine and Trotzky and the Russian Soviet Republic. Thus fear of the terrible revelations this solitary, upright German statesman might make armed the assassin's hand against him.

On Feb. 26 the Soviet Congress in Munich adopted several radical measures. The Housing Commissioner received dictatorial power to seize palaces, villas, and barracks and convert them into lodgings for the working people. The non-Socialist newspapers were compelled to publish proletariat propaganda. The Workmen's and Soldiers' Council sent a wireless dispatch to the proletariat of all countries appealing for support.

At Weimar the work of the National Assembly on the Constitution progressed much more slowly than had been expected, owing to the volubility of most of the members who spoke and the delays caused by interruptions by the Independent Socialists on technical points. Much personal bitterness was injected into the debates, especially in verbal conflicts between the Majority and Independent Socialists.

REVOLT IN SAXONY

The fire of counter-revolt which had blazed up in Munich quickly spread to other places. A message was received by the commander of the American Army at Coblenz from General Gouraud at Strasbourg Feb. 25, which stated that the Spartacans were sweeping the streets of Manheim with machine-gun fire and had blown up a number of buildings. General Gouraud requested authority to remove a number of Americans from danger in Mannheim, where they were engaged in Red Cross and Y. M. C. A. work. On the other hand, an attempt of the Bavarian Spartacans to establish a Soviet Government in Baden failed. The energetic action of the Baden Government in rushing troops into Karlsruhe killed the movement. As an indication, however, of the drift of popular sympathy toward the radical groups, the municipal elections of Greater Berlin, as disclosed on Feb. 24, showed a remarkable increase in the vote of the Independent Socialists. They led the poll with several thousand more votes than the regular Socialists, who made a far poorer showing than in the national and Prussian elections.

More ominous was the movement launched by the Spartacans to overthrow the Government in Saxony. A Berlin dispatch of Feb. 25 stated that railway communication with Halle, one of the principal junctions in Saxony, had been cut. The Spartacans had taken possession of Plauen and other industrial centres. Independent Socialists in Leipsic issued a manifesto demanding the retirement of the Weimar Government as "an impediment to socialism and the liberation of the proletariat." After demonstrations at Pirna and Plauen the Radicals seized the plants of the non-Socialist newspapers and ordered the officers of the seized plants to leave. Work was stopped in many Saxon factories by the seizure of electric power stations.

The spread of the railroad strike in Saxony theatened to cut off the Leipsic route to Weimar, thereby practically isolating the National Assembly from Berlin. The strike in the lignite mines was virtually complete. Failure of the Government to introduce promised socialization of the mining industry was said to be the cause of the miners' movement. Berlin advices of the 27th announced that, while industrial disorder in the Ruhr district was receding, it was growing in intensity in Central Germany. A general strike prevailed in Saxony and Thuringia. Leipsic was without gas, electricity, or railroad communication with the outside world. A non-Socialist counterstrike of professional men brought the business life of the city to a standstill. The strike at Halle continued absolute and broke out at Erfurt and many other cities of Central Germany. The Frankfurter Zeitung reported that Communist activity was increasing in the whole of East Prussia, where a large number of Russian Bolsheviki had arrived.

On the other side of this gloomy picture, Government troops entered Düsseldorf on Friday and occupied the railway station and public buildings without opposition. At Hamborn the Spartacans offered but feeble resistance to the Gov-

ernment troops, relinquishing two cannon, 8,000 rifles, and a quantity of munitions; 130,000 volunteers were reported to have enrolled throughout Germany to aid the Government.

THE WEIMAR ASSEMBLY

Berlin newspapers reflected the threatening trend of events. Vorwärts printed prominently a warning to the Socialist elements of the Scheidemann Cabinet that unless they were able to produce something better than negative results they ought to "withdraw unconditionally, leaving the political wreck to the bourgeois parties." The Vossische Zeitung complained that Germany was drifting toward a heap of wreckage, while the speeches delivered at the Weimar Assembly dealt with the interior decorations of a house not yet built.

At Weimar the Government decided that, owing to the serious political situation, the National Assembly would not take a recess, but would continue its sessions indefinitely to work off the mass of business in the shortest possible time. The draft of a general socialization law was published. By this step the Government hoped to take the wind out of the sails of the Radicals, as one of the most effective appeals to the working class had been based on the delay in the socialization plan. The bill was drawn in brief and general terms, and reserved for the National Government the field of legislation covering the socialization of industry, particularly coal mines and water, electric, and other power plants. It adopted the principle that the control of industries by bodies of a self-administrative character under national supervision was of common importance. The draft did not indicate that socialization would be applied for the present to any branches of industry except mines and power development. The first reading of the Constitution was concluded March 4, and it was referred to a committee of twenty-eight.

On March 2 members of the Government arrived in Berlin to confer with the Workmen's Council. A manifesto had previously been issued denouncing terrorist attempts to abolish the Na-

tional Assembly. "Greater than the political danger is the economic distress," the Government manifesto read in part. "We cannot feed ourselves from our own "supplies until the next harvest. The "blockade is eating away the vitals of "our people. Thousands perish daily "from ill-nourishment. Every strike "brings us nearer to the abyss. Only "work can save us." The manifesto promised the socialization of suitable industries and the establishment of industrial councils representative of all the workers and freely elected. It closed with a strong note asserting the determination of the Government to wage relentless war against terrorism. "Whoever assails the life of the nation," it concluded, "is our enemy."

CRISIS IN BERLIN

A four days' party conclave was opened in Berlin March 2 by the Independent Socialists. The Independents did not conceal their intention to overthrow the Ebert Government. Hugo Haase, leader of the Independents, was the first speaker. He asserted that although the National Assembly had gone to sleep, "the proletariat revolution was "wide awake and marching independent " of its leaders and discussing the imme-"diate future political developments in "Germany." He added that the Soviet principle must be adhered to in the new form of State. "And we propose to establish it firmly in our revolutionary Government," he continued. "The principles of Bolshevism cannot be suppressed. They are bound to prevail."

The general strike called for Berlin went into effect at 8 P. M., March 3. All traffic was stopped on the street cars, the elevated and underground lines. The big cafés and restaurants closed early. The Prussian Government promptly declared a state of siege in the police districts of Berlin, Spandau, Treptow, Neiderbarman, and other suburbs in order "to protect the bulk of the working people from famine and the terror of the minority." Minister of War Noske assumed executive power. Troops of the army corps of General von Luttwitz were brought into Berlin late in the night to

assist in maintaining order and were bivouacked in the open spaces of the city. By the 4th it was said 28,000 troops were concentrated in the vicinity of Greater Berlin. Minister Noske issued an order to arrest all strikers or leaders of strikers who were guilty of rioting or intimidating workmen. In the morning Government troops occupied the printing plant of The Red Flag, the Spartacan organ, and arrested the editor, Dr. Hans Meyer. Efforts were made by the Strike Committee, presided over by Herr Müller, to close down the light and power plants of Greater Berlin.

On March 5 fighting took place on Alexanderplatz. A pen picture of the scene was cabled by a correspondent:

All this cold afternoon I stood in the Alexanderplatz watching the battle between the revolutionaries and the Government forces. The Red Army was made up mostly of sailors, who were trying to drive the police and Government troops out of the police station. The defenders of the situation wore white bands on their arms. When I left the zone at 6 o'clock the police had been driven into one corner of the red brick building, which they had turned into a fort.

The Reds had obtained a tank and brought it up, ready for action. It chugged at the curb like a waiting taxi. The Reds had threatened to turn loose with the tank if the Government forces did not agree to their demand for surrender.

It was an orderly, well-conducted battle. When one of the Reds would fall, as the result of a well-directed shot from the police station, soldiers with a Red Cross flag would run out, stand over the man that was down, and wave the flag.

Instantly the battle would stop, as a football game does when the centre sprains his ankle and the referee takes him out. Four or five soldiers and sailors would run out, pick up the wounded man, and carry him to an improvised hospital in the lobby of a hotel in Alexanderplatz overlooking the square. The wounded man taken inside, the Red Cross flag would disappear and the crack of rifles and the splutter of machine guns would begin again.

No newspapers appeared in Berlin on March 6, as all the compositors had joined the general strike the previous night. What was described as "the worst battle Berlin had seen" took place for possession of the telegraph office. Women members of the American Red Cross, endangered by the shooting, were ordered by Colonel Taylor to seek safety in the Palace Hotel. The American mission for the welfare of prisoners intrenched itself in the Hotel Adlon behind a battery of machine guns. Late in the day Government troops began a converging movement toward the centre of the city. By the afternoon of the 7th all important buildings were in the hands of Government troops. The dead and wounded during the two days' fighting were estimated to exceed 1,000. It was announced on the 8th that the revolt had been suppressed.

Meanwhile an aviator flying over Halle during its occupation by Government troops on March 5 reported that thirty civilians had been killed there in the street fighting. The rioters seized officers of the Government forces and threw them into the River Saale, where they were left to drown. Extensive destruction was caused by the artillery and mine-throwers which the troops used in their conflict with the Spartacans. Advices from Bremen stated that the political prisoners there had been released by insurgents, and that the electric and gas works were in their hands. Anarchy was said to reign at Zeitz, southwest of Leipsic. Both the workmen and bourgeoisie were on strike, and a number of persons had been killed or wounded in the street fighting. A general strike with rioting was in progress in Jena and Eisenach. Virtually all the miners were out at Hamborn. A plot at Königsberg to open East Prussia to Russian Bolshevist forces was frustrated after severe fighting.

THE GOVENMENT'S VACILLATION

A movement at Weimar to recognize the Soviets in the Constitution caused terror among the conservative newspapers. The Tägliche Rundschau told the Government that, though its half-capitulation might avoid an immediate catastrophe, the outcome would be bloody civil war, as all such concessions would be rejected with scorn by the "Radikalinskis." Edwin L. James, The New York Times correspondent, cabled from Coblenz on March 8:

The course of the Ebert Government in making concession after concession to the

Radical, Independent Socialist, and even Spartacan element, is disgusting this part of Germany, and there is a growing sentiment in favor of the Centrist Party withdrawing from all participation in the present Government's activities and lining up with the Nationalists to make the German political situation the simple one of radicalism against reaction.

The Centrist Party predominates in the Rhineland, and here, too, the Nationalists, who are out-and-out royalists, are strong and are fast growing stronger, as was shown in the recent local elections.

This section is the greatest workshop of Germany, and it wants to resume business activity, and that quickly. It is in good shape industrially and regards itself as an object lesson for the ill-behaved parts of Germany, although not all of the Rhineland's good behavior is due to the Germans residing therein. One must count the effect of the armies of occupation. The Germans know this, and are eager to get back to normal conditions before the allied armies depart and leave a fair field for the work of the Bolsheviki.

Ever loud in their praise of the Kaiser and what he did for Germany, the big business men hereabout want some one else like him. They do not care now whether the Chancellor is responsible to the Kaiser alone or not; they do not care for details. They want a strong person to lead in the agitation for him and prompt action in the Catholic Church, represented in politics by the Centrist Party.

ENDING THE BERLIN RIOT

Later developments of the revolt in Berlin indicated that the Spartacans were resorting to acts of Russian Bolshevist atrocity. Sixty Government detectives and eighteen soldiers were dispatched in the most brutal manner. These and similar cruelties moved Minister of War Noske to order that any armed person found fighting against the Government be shot immediately. Many rioters were thus summarily executed. As in the previous revolt, scattered fighting went on after the Government had gained control of the centre of disturbance. Dispatches of March 10 reported that murder, fighting, and plunder had continued throughout Sunday, the 9th. On the same date a reign of terror prevailed in the Lichtenberg district. The Spartacans, supported by the criminal element, stormed Police Headquarters and murdered all the officers on duty. While soldiers were summoned from the Ruhleben prison camp to suppress rioting in Spandau, 5,000 Russian prisoners escaped, to wander in terrifying bands over the countryside. The amount of looting from which Berlin suffered during the revolt was estimated at \$10,000,000. The city resembled a huge battlefield.

On March 7 Hugo Haase was elected Chairman of the Independent Socialist Party. On the 10th President Ebert and Secretary Landsberg arrived in Berlin from Weimar. On the same day the strike was called off and work resumed throughout the greater part of the city.

The Industrial League of Germany was organized in Berlin on March 10, with a fund of 50,000,000 marks, to fight Bolshevism. Of this amount the great Berlin plants contributed 5,000,000 marks.

WRECKAGE OF BATTLE

The Spartacans opened negotiations March 11 for peace with the Government. Minister of War Noske demanded unconditional surrender. The Spartacans were still strongly intrenched in the suburbs of Weissensee, Köpenick, Neukölin, and Rummelsburg. At Lichtenberg the Government troops made slower progress owing to the need of thoroughly restoring order in the conquered parts of the city. A correspondent wrote:

In Kaiser Street the buildings bear the scars of tens of thousands of projectiles, and in Frankfurter Street I was reminded of the dead towns of Northern France, with the shattered houses standing like rows of ghastly skeletons. Across all the streets and at every corner are barricades composed of gigantic rolls of paper, with barbed wire in front and behind machine guns just left by the retreating Spartagens.

At the end of one street is a park of heavy mine throwers with a great pile of gigantic projectiles. Every street through which we passed bore evidence of the battle, and the pavements were covered with glass and scraps of masonry. As we neared the centre of the city, close to the palace, a strong machine-gun fire broke out along the Spree, and there was an atmosphere of oppressive tension.

The Spartacans' artillery is still in action, but the range is short and shells fall into the deserted houses. In some other houses in the district the inhabitants remain, and they have bitter experiences to relate of how they have had to stay in cellars day and night. If they

ventured out, they found everything stolen. Some of them have had hardly anything to eat for a week.

Berlin dispatches of March 12-13 bore evidence of the complete success of the Government in overcoming the revolt. Government troops bombarded the Spartacan defenses at Lichtenberg and put the rebels to flight. They advanced vigorously into the place and took many prisoners. One group of thirty included ten women. They were marched handcuffed through Unter den Linden to the Moabit prison. The Lichtenberg Soldiers' and Workmen's Council, composed wholly of Independents and Spartacans, was dissolved. Nests of Spartacans in the east end of Berlin were systematically cleaned up. Captured looters were executed. One Spartacan adherent was caught with 800,000 marks' worth of jewels.

ALLIED LINES ADVANCED

Meantime, disorders continued to be reported from the provinces. On March 12, following a general strike at Hamburg, a Spartacan revolt broke out, accompanied by rioting. A general strike was in progress in the mining district of Beuthen, Silesia, where 20,000 workmen were said to be idle. A message from Graudenz stated that martial law had been proclaimed in the Briesen, Kulm. Thorn, and Strassburg districts of West Prussia, owing to an advance of Spartacan forces in that region. "Acute unrest" was the term applied to prevailing industrial conditions in Westphalia on the 15th. A further message of the same date stated that British and French forces had advanced their outposts from the limits of their bridgeheads at Cologne and Mainz, respectively. French were reported to have penetrated into the corporate limits of Frankfort. According to a Paris dispatch of March 16, General Count Sixt von Arnim, former commander of the German Army in Flanders, had been beaten to death by peasants at Asch, Bohemia.

The National Assembly adopted a bill on March 13 concerning the socialization of factories. It also passed a measure regulating the coal industry. Minister of War Noske, to whose vigorous policy suppression of the Berlin revolt was mainly due, addressed the National Assembly. Herr Noske said that only one suburb remained to be cleared of the Spartacans. He declared that disarmament of the population must be hastened. The Minister continued:

It is especially the fault of certain newspapers, notably the Freiheit and the Red Flag, that acts of pillage, brigandage, and murder have been committed in Berlin, as they have been inciting the people for months past. The Independent Socialists did all they could to support these disgraceful, shameless actions.

The great mass of the workmen of Berlin are honest men, but, as in all great movements, impure elements seem to have crept in among the loyal, thoughtful workers. The hyenas of the revolution began to intrigue before martial law was proclaimed and before the troops had been ordered to advance upon Berlin.

PRUSSIAN ASSEMBLY

Premier Hirsch opened the Prussian Assembly in Berlin on March 13. The Diet building was guarded by steel-helmeted troops, and only holders of credentials were permitted to enter. In his speech the Premier asserted that the watchword of Germany must be "work." He referred to the pernicious effect of strikes on industry. While assenting that Prussia was ready to be incorporated into a united German State, he contended that it would be a mistake to split Prussia into republics not capable of existing by themselves.

During a discussion on disturbances the Minister of Justice announced that the damage done to Police Headquarters amounted to 20,000,000 marks. One of the delegates made a speech in favor of the Hohenzollerns, and proposed that Prussia should restore the monarchy. The Socialists protested, but the greater part of the civil parties applauded. Later Herr Leinert, Majority Socialist and former member of the Prussian Diet, was elected President of the Prussian Assembly. Herr Porsch, Majority Socialist, and Herr Frenzel, Democrat, were elected Vice Presidents. Dr. Grandnauer, former Socialist member of the Reichstag and an ex-Minister, was elected Premier of Saxony.

A Berlin dispatch of the 14th to The New York Times summarized the situation as follows: No well-informed person here believes for one moment that the anarchist spirit has been finally exterminated. On the contrary, it is growing rapidly with starvation and the lack of proper enjoyment.

In suppressing the last rising the Government troops used harsh measures by which occasionally the lives and property of the totally innocent were destroyed. Outsiders profess to see plainly the absolute necessity of these measures, but not those whose families and friends suffered, and they belong nearly all to the laboring or what the English call the lower middle classes, who had already drained the bitter cup of misery during the war.

The Spartacan press is doing everything possible to incense the proletariat against the Government by representing its troops as aggres or and the Spartacans as poor, helpless victims, who were first provoked and then slaughtered. Add to this the general moral and economic disintegration pervading all walks of life and the helplessness of the Government, overburdened with gigantic tasks, and there you have the situation.

The chief of the military forces, Herr Noske, has proved himself to be competent, and a man of iron will, who even in opposition to some of his colleagues in the Government never hesitated to do what he thought was demanded, thereby doubtless jeopardizing his own life.

Noske has been playing one extreme against the other. All his army officers, beginning with General von Luttwitz, who was in charge of the Berlin operations, down to Lieutenant Pilerwitz of Bremen fame, belong to the Junker class without almost any exception. Both officers and men have thus far proved themselves absolutely loyal, but today they openly boast that they for the third time have saved the Government's life. There are in Germany about 300,000 army officers of the line and reserve. They now talk of forming a great league among themselves.

THE FORMER EMPEROR

From Amerongen came numerous and circumstantial reports that the ex-Emperor was maintaining communication with his supporters in Germany. "Germany will soon repent of having overthrown the monarchy," he was reported to have said to Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau. "All that is happening in Germany goes to my heart. I did not will it. There are still good patriots in Germany who will not allow her to become bankrupt."

The Dutch Governor of Utrec'.t, responsible for the conduct of the ex-Emperor, arrived at Count von Bentinck's castle on Feb. 27. It was intimated that his visit was connected with the activities of Berlin officials. Their visits ceased shortly after being made known to the public through dispatches of The Associated Press.

From the ex-Emperor's attendants it was gathered that he had not gone beyond the castle grounds in nine weeks. and that he had resisted efforts to induce him to return to Germany. The German Government continued the salaries of his servants and made arrangements for their relief at regular intervals, although his staff was much reduced. Court Chamberlain von Gontard exercised his functions as usual, remaining a State official under the orders of the "Hofmarschallamt," or Lord Chamberlain's office, in Berlin. Meanwhile, extra precautions had been taken to insure the ex-Emperor's privacy by boarding up openings in the garden wall and topping it with barbed wire.

From Weimar a dispatch of Feb. 27 refuted previous rumors that the ex-Emperor had carried a large sum of money with him into Holland. It stated that he had been forced to borrow 40,000 guilders from his host, and that he petitioned the German Government to allow him a portion of his private fortune. After an investigation the German Government found the ex-Emperor might legally claim 75,000,000 marks as his own property, but decided to allow him temporarily only 600,000 marks to meet present indebtedness and expenses.

A London message of March 10 quoted the Prince of Monaco as being interviewed relative to the German ex-Emperor's responsibility for the war. The Prince of Monaco was at one time an intimate friend of the ex-Emperor, but severed those relations in a telegram sent in September, 1914. In the interview the Prince said:

There is no doubt that the former German Emperor was the first and responsible author of the war. He absolutely wished for it, and conducted it himself in all its ruthlessness and barbarity. Until a few years before the war he seemed sincerely to wish peace and a renewal of intercourse with France. I know this because I was intrusted with a mission to try to bring it about. But at the same time a terrible megalomania was growing in him. He was anxious to see Germany over all, and from the day when he felt it impossible to attain this end by peaceful means, war became an obsession with him.

I shall never forget the fury in his face and the hatred in his voice when, in July, 1914, he told me "If they oblige me to make war, the world will see what it never dreamed of." These words were hypocritical because the Emperor could not pretend the war into which he declared himself driven was not at that very time being prepared for in every detail.

Germany's Attitude on Peace Terms

By COUNT RROCKDORFF-RANTZAU

. German Minister of Foreign Affairs

[ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AT WEIMAR, FEB. 7, 1919]

I CAN group the tasks with which German foreign policy is confronted under two headings—the abolition of a state of war and the restoration of normal relations with the community of nations. The abolition of a state of war is an urgent necessity for the whole world. It is not Germany's fault that it still exists. When the former German Government agreed with the Entente and the United States on the Wilsonian principles of peace, and accepted

armistice terms on that basis, no one could have believed that peace would be delayed for so long, or that the Entente would threaten a resumption of hostilities in order to obtain fresh concessions from us. They have recently made an attempt to settle in this way questions which undoubtedly belong to the General Peace Treaty, and which they intended to settle by military pressure in a one-sided manner to our detriment, whereas, according to the principles of

peace agreed upon, they were to be settled on the basis of justice and reciprocity. I have repudiated this attempt, and shall continue to repudiate such attempts in the future. Violence can be done to us, but we cannot be forced to acknowledge violence as right. We expected a speedy peace, because the only raison d'être for the armistice terms was their imposition for a short period.

ALL WAR FORCES DISSOLVED

For a long time past Germany has ceased to be an enemy whom the Entente need fear from a military point of view. Demobilization is completed. We have done more than demobilize. The demobilization to which we are bound by the armistice implies the reduction of the army in the field to the peace footing. We are in the act of dissolving the whole of our fighting forces as they existed hitherto, and of replacing our old peace army, which would be very useful to us now in the East, by new republican troops. In spite of this fact, the severity of the armistice terms is increased from month to month. If the enemy think that they must punish us, they are inspired by vengeance and not by justice, and are killing the spirit in which, according to their own declarations, peace was to be concluded. Germany has shouldered the consequences of her defeat, and is determined to observe the conditions on which she has come to an agreement with the enemy. These conditions signify a complete conversion from the political aims of the Germany of the past and a recognition of the truth which one of the great men of Weimar has expressed in the saying, "Weltgeshichte ist Weltgericht," (world history is the world's court of justice.) But we refuse to accept our enemies as our judges on account of their partiality. Their number does not increase their competence. We cannot bow to the verdict of the victors; only to the judgment of an impartial tribunal. I will not, therefore, allow myself to be diverted by pressure from the points of the Wilsonian peace program as recognized by both sides.

The most important of these points imposes the obligation to submit our difference with other States to an International Court of Arbitration, and to renounce armaments which would make it impossible for us to undertake a surprize attack upon a neighbor. We are prepared for both these humiliations of our sovereignty if our former enemies and our future neighbors are subjected to the same conditions. We recognize that the attitude which ermany assumed toward both these fundamental questions was wrapped up in a historical school for which the whole of our people have now to suffer.

This acknowledgment, however, by no means constitutes an admission that the German people alone are responsible for the world war in the sense implied in enemy assertions, and that it has been carried on with a barbarity that is exclusively their own. For years we have had to complain of the war plans of our enemies, and of the dreadful cruelties in their carrying on of the war, and we are prepared to put the question of blame for the war, and blame during the war, to men who are impartial and who enjoy the confidence of all the belligerents for their verdict. This is why we hold firmly to the Wilsonian principles that no war costs are to be paid to the victor and that no territory is to be evacuated by the conquered. We have pledged ourselves, and we are prepared to make good the damages which have been caused to the civil population through our attack in the territories which have been occupied by us. If, however, we are to rebuild in these territories what has been destroyed, we will do it with our own free labor. On the other hand, we protest against the enemy retaining our prisoners of war to do such work as slaves, thus prolonging the state of war, and against their claim for any international legal pretext for such drudgery.

From the fact that our enemies owe their victory, for the greater part, not to their military but to their economic conduct of the war, it follows that peace must not only be a political one, but essentially also an economic one. Quite rightly, President Wilson has characterized the principle of economic freedom and equal rights as the main condition

for the just and lasting peace for which he stands with such high authority, and we may therefore assume that the resolutions of the Paris Economic Conference of 1916 are to be dropped.

FEAR OF TRADE LIMITATIONS

It must be apparent that a temporary differentiation of Germany in the domain of trade and traffic would be unacceptable to us. A nation such as the German Nation ought not to be treated by our enemies as a second-class nation, nor should a term of quarantine be imposed upon us like a vessel outside a port in which plague has broken out. If we undertake to comply with just peace conditions, and give guarantees for their fulfillment such as the enemy negotiators may reasonably demand, then there is no reason why they should refuse us the greatest encouragement. It is plain that we have lots to learn in the domain of trade policy. We have not always allowed ourselves to be led by the truth which in the relations of peoples is exemplified in the good motto, "Freely hast thou received; freely give." That, certainly, is partly due to the one-sided bureaucratic staff of our foreign service.

By bureaucratic means the economic relations of peoples, which are fundamentally disorganized by war, cannot be re-established. It is not a question of one State gaining economic advantages from another by old diplomatic means. Economic negotiators must allow themselves to be guided by the spirit of the honorable tradesman, who holds that business is best in which both parties are well served. I, therefore, intend to place practical business men of experience in the foreign service to a greater extent than heretofore, and I have already made a beginning. I have confidence that our economic foreign service will in future take advantage of the freedom of trade which a just peace must bring us in a manner very far removed both from unsubstantial bungling economy as well as from a narrowminded mercenary policy. In this way we shall clear out of the road the first disinclination of other nations against Germany's economic methods, which have appreciably brought about and prepared an atmosphere of war.

A NAVAL ADMISSION

Freedom of trade, however, presupposes freedom of the seas, and that is why the point in the Wilsonian program which speaks of the freedom of the seas is one of the most important for Germany. In this respect it is of much less importance for us what the rules of naval warfare happen to be. We will not speak now of new wars, but rather of the peaceful use of the sea routes, their coasts, and their ports. Regarding this main point of the future peace conditions there is as yet no clarity. The Entente last Autumn reserved its approval of this, and the conditions which it has drawn up to place before Germany, in connection with the promise of the delivery of foodstuffs and with the prolongation of the armistice, lead it to be feared that it is desirous of robbing Germany of the whole of her mercantile fleet. What, however, does freedom of the seas represent for us if we have no ships to sail upon them? How can we bring our importation and exportation into line with our economic requirements if for this purpose we have only foreign tonnage to use, which may possibly be only unwillingly lent to us by other nations at profiteering prices? If it be desired to compel Germany, without a mercantile fleet, to enter the League of Nations, this would represent a violent subversion of her economic development, and such a thing could not be done without cramping convulsions which would continually constitute a threat to general peace.

And just as little could Germany enter the League of Nations without colonies as without a mercantile fleet. According to Mr. Wilson's program, colonial questions are to find a broad-minded and absolutely impartial settlement. In the sense of that program we await the handing back of our colonial possessions which we have had taken from us, partly in contravention of international treaties and partly under threadbare pretexts. We are prepared to negotiate regarding the cession of this or that

colony, but only as the legitimate owners. Future colonial policy is to be one of more humane treatment of the natives. In this direction, we must admit, we have made mistakes. The activity of the missions which Germany formerly had, and which have, unfortunately, been severely reduced by the war, must, in the interest of the natives, be assured. In this connection we agree with the idea of international control over the tropical colonies under the condition that all colonial powers are subject to it and that Germany takes a proportionate part in the administration and in the products of the colonies.

ALSACE-LORRAINE

While our colonies are being seized, despite our strong protests, we are at the same time called upon to lose valuable portions of our imperial territory. This refers mainly to Alsace-Lorraine, whose recapture was the fruit of our victory and the symbol of German unity. You know that President Wilson made the demand: "The injustice which Germany committed in 1871 by the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine is to be made good." From the standpoint of new international morality, according to which peoples, in the games of the powers, are not to be pushed about like pawns, it was unjust to dispose of Alsace-Lorraine without taking into consideration its own will, and even without consideration of the frontiers of language. I will not here refer to the previous injustice which was done to the German Nation. I accept Mr. Wilson's standpoint, because it refers to the right of the present population of Alsace-Lorraine. But violence is done to this right when, now, the French authorities in occupation are treating the country as a definitely conquered one, and drive out or imprison all persons in whom they see a hindrance to their imperialistic plans, and when they commence forcibly to interfere with the natural claims of the people with respect to their language by compulsory Gallicizing their mode of speech. The Peace Conference has not yet set its seal on the fate of Alsace-Lorraine. Alsace-Lorraine is still guided by the way of the law of the empire, and we are taking steps for the right of Alsace-Lorraine to provide that her voice may be heard as to whether she is desirous of becoming a French department or a German State colony, or whether she prefers autonomy or full independence. Germany will not believe that Europe is founded on justice until the solemn approval of the whole of the people of Alsace-Lorraine has been given to the peace article and her future is strengthened by it.

If the treatment of imperial territory goes beyond the peace program agreed to, then the French plan of uniting the Prussian Saar region, or the Bavarian Palatinate, to Alsace-Lorraine is an imperialistic violence which must be as sharply criticised as the former plans of German Chauvinists for annexing the Longwy and Briev Basins to the empire. The historic foundation of the argument which the French put forward for the robbery of the Saar region is too weak to be worth the trouble of contradiction. In truth, the only concern of the French is the mineral wealth in coal of the Saar Basin, just as formerly the only concern of the German imperialists was the mineral wealth of the Briey Basin. Should such reasons prevail at the Peace Conference, then one must give up all hope of the ennoblement of international relations being effected. The wealth of this earth will then ever and again move from hand to hand, according to the law of the stronger, as the booty of might.



The League of Nations Controversy

President Wilson's Boston Speech Defending the Tentative Constitution

AFTER reading the tentative draft of the League of Nations coverant before the plenary session of the Peace Conference at Paris on Feb. 14, 1919, President Wilson sent a dispatch to the Congress Committees on Foreign Affairs at Washington inviting them to confer with him on the subject as soon as he returned to the White House. By the time this conference took place in Washington, however, it had already been overshadowed by the controversy raging in the Senate over the whole subject.

President Wilson sailed for the United States from Brest on the steamship George Washington, Feb. 15, and made the return voyage without incident, save that on nearing Cape Ann the transport and its convoy temporarily lost their bearings in the fog and came within measurable distance of running ashore.

The President landed at Boston at noon on Feb. 24, passed through a throng of 200,000 of his fellow-citizens who had made holiday to greet him, and immediately after luncheon addressed 7,000 people in Mechanics' Hall—all that could crowd into the auditorium. The text of his speech follows:

I have not come to report the proceedings or the results of the proceedings of the Peace Conference; that would be premature. I can say that I have received very happy impressions from this conference; the impression that, while there are many differences of judgment, while there are some divergences of object, there is, nevertheless, a common spirit and a common realization of the necessity of setting up new standards of right in the world.

Because the men who are in conference in Paris realize as keenly as any American can realize that they are not the masters of their people, that they are the servants of their people, and that the spirit of their people has awakened to a new purpose and a new conception of their power to realize that purpose, and that no man dare go home from that conference and report anything less noble than was expected of it.

The conference seems to you to go slowly;

from day to day in Paris it seems to go slowly; but I wonder if you realize the complexity of the task which it has undertaken. It seems as if the settlements of this war affect, and affect directly, every great, and I sometimes think every small, nation in the world, and no one decision can prudently be made which is not properly linked in with the great series of other decisions which must accompany it, and it must be reckoned in with the final result if the real quality and character of that result is to be properly judged.

What we are doing is to hear the whole case; hear it from the mouths of the men most interested; hear it from those who are officially commissioned to state it; hear the rival claims; hear the claims that affect new nationalities, that affect new areas of the world, that affect new commercial and economic connections that have been established by the great world war through which we have gone. And I have been struck by the moderateness of those who have represented national claims. I can testify that I have nowhere seen the gleam of passion. I have seen earnestness, I have seen tears come to the eyes of men who plead for downtrodden people whom they were privileged to speak for; but they were not the tears of anguish, they were the tears of ardent hope.

And I don't see how any man can fail to have been subdued by these pleas, subdued to this feeling that he was not there to assert an individual judgment of his own but to try to assist the cause of humanity.

FAITH IN UNITED STATES

And, in the midst of it all, every interest seeks out first of all when it reaches Paris the representatives of the United States. Why? Because—and I think I am stating the most wonderful fact in history—because there is no nation in Europe that suspects the motives of the United States.

Was there ever so wonderful a thing seen before? Was there ever so moving a thing? Was there ever any fact that so bound the nation that had won that esteem forever to deserve it?

I would not have you misunderstand that the great men who represent the other nations there in conference are disesteemed by those who know them. Quite the contrary. But you understand that the nations of Europe have again and again clashed with one another in competitive interest. It is impossible for men to forget those sharp issues that were drawn between them in times

past. It is impossible for men to believe that all ambitions have all of a sudden been foregone. They remember territory that was coveted; they remember rights that it was attempted to extort; they remember political ambitions which it was attempted to realize, and, while they believe that men have come into a different temper, they cannot forget these things, and so they do not resort to one another for a dispassionate view of the matters in controversy. They resort to that nation which has won the enviable distinction of being regarded as the friend of mankind.

Whenever it is desired to send a small force of soldiers to occupy a piece of territory where it is thought nobody else will be welcome, they ask for American soldiers. And where other soldiers would be looked upon with suspicion and perhaps met with resistance the American soldier is welcomed with acclaim.

I have had so many grounds for pride on the other side of the water that I am very thankful that they are not grounds for personal pride, but for national pride. If they were grounds for personal pride I'd be the most stuck-up man in the world.

And it has been an infinite pleasure to me to see those gallant soldiers of ours, of whom the Constitution of the United States made me the proud commander. You may be proud of the 26th Division, but I commanded the 26th Division, and see what they did under my direction! And everybody praises the American soldier, with the feeling that in praising him he is subtracting from the credit of no one else.

AMERICAN IDEALS REALIZED

I have been searching for the fundamental fact that converted Europe to believe in us. Before this war, Europe did not believe in us as she does now. She did not believe in us throughout the first three years of the war. She seems really to have believed that we were holding off because we thought we could make more by staying out than by going in. And, all of a sudden, in a short eighteen months, the whole verdict is re-There can be but one explanation versed. for it. They saw what we did-that, without making a single claim, we put all our men and all our means at the disposal of those who were fighting for their homes, in the first instance, but for a cause, the cause of human rights and justice, and that we went in, not to support their national claims, but to support the great cause which they held in common. And when they saw that America not only held ideals, but acted ideals, they were converted to America and became firm partisans of those ideals.

I met a group of scholars when I was in Paris—some gentlemen from one of the Greek universities who had come to see me, and in whose presence, or rather in the presence of whose traditions of learning, I felt very young, indeed. I told them that I had one

of the delightful revenges that sometimes come to a man. All my life I had heard men speak with a sort of condescension of ideals and of idealists, and particularly those separated encloistered persons whom they choose to term academic, who were in the habit of uttering ideals in the free atmosphere, when they clash with nobody in particular.

And I said I have had this sweet revenge: speaking with perfect frankness, in the name of the people of the United States. I have uttered as the objects of this great war ideals, and nothing but ideals, and the war has been won by that inspiration. Men were fighting with tense muscles and lowered head until they came to realize those things, feeling they were fighting for their lives and their country, and when these accents of what it was all about reached them from America they lifted their heads, they raised their eyes to heaven, when they saw men in khaki coming across the sea in the spirit of crusaders, and they found that these were strange men, reckless of danger not only, but reckless because they seemed to see something that made that danger worth while. Men have testified to me in Europe that our men were possessed by something that they could only call a religious fervor. They were not like any of the other soldiers. They had a vision, they had a dream, and they were fighting in the dream, and, fighting in the dream, they turned the whole tide of battle, and it never came back.

One of our American humorists, meeting the criticism that American soldiers were not trained long enough, said: "It takes only half as long to train an American soldier as any other, because you only have to train him to go one way." And he did only go one way, and he never came back until he could do it when he pleased.

EUROPE FULL OF HOPE

And now do you realize that this confidence we have established throughout the world imposes a burden upon us, if you choose to call it a burden? It is one of those burdens which any nation ought to be proud to carry. Any man who resists the present tides that run in the world will find himself thrown upon a shore so high and barren that it will seem as if he had been separated from his human kind forever.

The Europe that I left the other day was full of something that it had never felt fill its heart so full before. It was full of hope. The Europe of the second year of the war, the Europe of the third year of the war, was sinking to a sort of stubborn desperation. They did not see any great thing to be achieved, even when the war should be won. They hoped there would be some salvage: they hoped that they could clear their territories of invading armies: they hoped they could set up their homes and start their industries afresh. But they thought it would simply be the resumption of the old life that Europe had led-led in fear, led in anxiety, led in constant suspicious watchfulness.

They never dreamed that it would be a Europe of settled peace and of justified hope.

And now these ideals have wrought this new magic, that all the peoples of Europe are buoyed up and confident in the spirit of hope, because they believe that we are at the eve of a new age in the world, when nations will understand one another, when nations will support one another in every just cause, when nations will unite every moral and every physical strength to see that the right shall prevail.

If America were at this juncture to fail the world, what would come of it? I do not mean any disrespect to any other great people when I say that America is the hope of the world; and if she does not justify that hope, the results are unthinkable. Men will be thrown back on the bitterness of disappointment not only, but the bitterness of despair. All nations will be set up as hostile camps again; the men of the Peace Conference will go home with their heads upon their breasts, knowing that they have failed—for they were bidden not to come home from there until they did something more than sign a treaty of peace.

Suppose we sign the treaty of peace and that it is the most satisfactory treaty of peace that the confusing elements of the modern world will afford, and go home and think about our labors, we will know that we have left written upon the historic table at Versailles, upon which Vergennes and Benjamin Franklin wrote their names, nothing but a modern scrap of paper; no nations united to defend it, no great forces combined to make it good, no assurance given to the downtrodden and fearful people of the world that they shall be safe.

SENTIMENTS OF THE NATION

Any man who thinks that America will take part in giving the world any such rebuff and disappointment as that does not know America. I invite him to test the sentiments of the nation. We set this up to make men free, and we did not confine our conception and purpose to America, and now we will make men free. If we did not do that, the fame of America would be gone, and all her powers would be dissipated. She then would have to keep her power for those narrow, selfish, provincial purposes which seem so dear to some minds that have no sweep beyond the nearest horizon.

I should welcome no sweeter challenge than that. I have fighting blood in me, and it is sometimes a delight to let it have scope, but if it is a challenge on this occasion it will be an indulgence. Think of the picture, think of the utter blackness that would fall on the world. America has failed! America made a little essay at generosity and then withdrew. America said, "We are your friends," but it was only for today, not for tomorrow. America said, "Here is our power to vindicate right," and then the next day said, "Let right take care of itself, and

we will take care of ourselves." America said, "We set up a light to lead men along the paths of liberty, but we have lowered it; it is intended only to light our own path." We set up a great ideal of liberty, and then we said: "Liberty is a thing that you must win for yourself. Do not call upon us."

And think of the world that we would leave. Do you realize how many new nations are going to be set up in the presence of old and powerful nations in Europe and left there, if left by us, without a disinterested friend?

Do you believe in the Polish cause, as I do? Are you going to set up Polard, immature, inexperienced, as yet unorganized, and leave her with a circle of armies around her? Do you believe in the aspiration of the Czechoslovaks and the Jugoslavs as I do? Do you know how many powers would be quick to pounce upon them if there were not the guarantees of the world behind their liberty?

Have you thought of the sufferings of Armenia? You poured out your money to help succor the Armenians after they suffered; now set your strength so that they shall never suffer again.

The arrangements of the present peace cannot stand a generation unless they are guaranteed by the united forces of the civillized world. And, if we do not guarantee them, can you not see the picture? Your hearts have instructed you where the burden of this war fell. It did not fall upon the national treasuries, it did not fall upon the instruments of administration, it did not fall upon the resources of the nation. It fell upon the victims' homes everywhere—where women were toiling in the hope that their men would come back.

When I think of the homes upon which dull despair would settle were this great hope disappointed, I should wish for my part never to have had America play any part whatever in this attempt to emancipate the world. But I talk as if there were any question. I have no more doubt of the verdict of America in this matter than I have doubt of the blood that is in me.

PEOPLE IN THE SADDLE

And so, my fellow-citizens, I have come back to report progress, and I do not believe that the progress is going to stop short of the goal. The nations of the world have set their heads now to do a great thing and they are not going to slacken their purpose. And when I speak of the nations of the world I do not speak of the Governments of the world. I speak of the peoples who constitute the nations of the world. They are in the saddle and they are going to see to it that, if their present Governments do not do their will, some other Governments shall. And the secret is out and the present Governments know it.

There is a great deal of harmony to be got out of common knowledge. There is a great

deal of sympathy to be got out of living in the same atmosphere; and, except for the differences of languages, which puzzled my American ear very sadly, I could have believed I was at home, in France, or in Italy, or in England, when I was on the streets, when I was in the presence of the crowds, when I was in great halls where men were gathered together irrespective of class. I did not feel quite as much at home there as I do here, but I felt that, now, at any rate, after this storm of war had cleared the air, men were seeing eye to eye everywhere and that these were the kind of folks who would understand what the kind of folks at home would understand and that they were thinking the same things.

I feel about you as I am reminded of a story of that excellent witness and good artist, Oliver Herford, who one day, sitting at luncheon at his club, was slapped vigorously on the back by a man whom he did not know very well. He said: "Oliver, old boy, how are you?" He looked at him rather coldly. He said: "I don't know your name, I don't know your face, but your manners are very familiar." And I must say that your manners are very familiar, and,

let me add, very delightful.

It is a great comfort, for one thing, to realize that you all understand the language I am speaking. A friend of mine said that to talk through an interpreter was like witnessing the compound fracture of an idea. But the beauty of it is that, whatever the impediments of the channel of communication, the idea is the same, that it gets registered, and it gets registered in responsive hearts and receptive purposes.

I have come back for a strenuous attempt to transact business for a little while in America, but I have really come back to say to you, in all soberness and honesty, that I have been trying my best to speak your thoughts.

When I sample myself, I think I find that I am a typical American, and, if I sample deep enough and get down to what is probably the true stuff of a man, then I have hope that it is part of the stuff that is like the other fellow's at home. And, therefore, probing deep in my heart and trying to see the things that are right, without regard to the things that may be debated as expedient, I feel that I am interpreting the purpose and the thought of America; and in loving America I find I have joined the great majority of my fellow-men throughout the world.

After delivering this address President Wilson took the train for Washington, there to transact such public business as was necessary before his return to France.

Senate Discussion of the League

Project Attacked by Republicans

DISCUSSION of the League of Nations covenant was inaugurated in the United States Senate on Feb. 19 by a three-hour speech made before crowded galleries by Senator Poindexter, Republican, of Washington, in criticism of the project. Senator Poindexter declared that the charter of the League meant surrender of American sovereignty to European nations. He continued:

If one great nation were free to maintain such armies and navies as it sees fit, while the members of the League disarm, the very condition sought to be avoided, namely, the temptation of conquest, would be accentuated. Under these provisions the decision as to the relative reduction of the army and navy of the United States, in proportion to that of great rival powers, would be taken absolutely out of the jurisdiction of the people and of the Government of the United States and vested in the jurisdiction of the League, where the

United States has but one vote amid a large number of alien powers. Even a majority of these powers, many of whose interests are in conflict with those of the United States and whose traditions are entirely different, whose sympathies and predilections are subject to a wholly different environment, would determine this vital matter.

It is a delegation and transfer of sovereign power to an alien agency. These powers are vested by the Constitution of the United States in Congress. They cannot be constitutionally divested.

Senator Poindexter took up the Monroe Doctrine, saying that throughout the administration of the Presidency since Monroe its spirit has been rigorously protected. He continued:

Article X. binds the United States as one of the contracting parties to "undertake to preserve as against external aggressions the territorial integrity and existing political independence in all States members of the League." It also authorizes the Executive Council to "advise upon the means by which the obligation

shall be fulfilled." Under this obligation the United States assumes, if it is adopted, the protection of every nation which shall become a member of the League. In this we would have the co-operation of other members who were willing and able to fulfill their obligations under this article, but whether acting jointly with them or alone, or with such of them as would live up to their obligations, the United States would be bound to tax its people and sacrifice its soldiers to make war in behalf of every foreign country, member of the League, when attacked in the manner indicated, either by a member or by a nonmember nation.

The Washington Senator adverted to the obligations the United States must assume, under the League of Nations, in mixing in the affairs of small European countries. To the same extent, he said, these small nations would intrude into the affairs of the United States.

To place now in the hands of the Council of the League of Nations, all but one foreigners, nearly all of them speaking alien languages, born and bred to different traditions, accustomed to a diverse environment, with different ideals and varying interests and motives, that control over the sovereign action of the American people for which so many of our precious heroes have labored would be as though it were a pitiful murder of the very soul of our fathers in their own house, builded by their hands. It would be in its result the same thing as treason, because it would be a transfer of allegiance. No such colossal burden of entangling alliance was ever before conceived in the world. This League of Nations is a fertile seed of war, it is a dragon's tooth from which strong, armed soldiers will rise.

SENATOR BORAH'S ATTACK

On Feb. 21 Senator William E. Borah, Republican, of Idaho, launched a similar attack against the League. He pointed out that the acceptance of such a League of Nations involved a radical departure both from the policy laid down by Washington in his Farewell Address and from the Monroe Doctrine. He said:

The mere reading of the constitution of the League will convince any reasonable mind, it seems to me, that the policies of Washington and Monroe must depart if it is adopted. The two propositions cannot exist together. In the first place, the League provides for an organization composed principally and at the present time of five great nations, three of them European, one Asiatic, and one American. Every policy determined upon by the

League and every movement made by it could and might be controlled solely by the European powers, whether the matter dealt with the European continent or with the American continent. It makes no distinction between European affairs and American affairs and erects a common tribunal which has jurisdiction over one continent the same as the other, but, in addition, gives the majority votes to the European system.

After reading Article X., which provides for the preservation of the territorial integrity of the member nations of the League, Senator Borah said:

The first obligation which we assume is to protect the territorial integrity of the British Empire. That takes us into every part of the civilized world. That is the most radical departure from the Washington policy. If the territorial integrity of any part of the British Empire shall be threatened, not the Congress of the United States, not the people of the United States, not the Government of the United States, shall determine what shall be done, but the Executive Council, of which the American people have one member, is to determine what is to be done. If we mean what we say in this Constitution, we are pledging ourselves, our honor, and our secred lives to territorial possessions the world over.

What has England given us in this League of Nations? What has she surrendered? Will some one advise me? Did she surrender the freedom of the seas? That was pushed aside at the first meeting of the congress and is not subject to its jurisdiction. Has she surrendered her contention for the largest navy? What has she surrendered?

On the other hand, we have surrendered the traditional foreign policy of this country, which has been established for 100 years, and we have gone behind these powers and placed at their disposatour finances, our man-power, and our full capacity to guarantee the integrity of their possessions all over the globe. Is it an even balance between these great powers and the United States?

In close alliance with Great Britain and in close community of interest, said Senator Borah, will be the British dominions, Italy, and Japan. America in the League will be completely outvoted. The whole project, he believed, meant a sterilization of the principle of nationalism. It abrogates our Constitution, and its ratification should be contingent on a plebiscite; the adoption of such a program must be sustained by an intelligent public opinion.

SPEECH BY SENATOR REED

Senator James A. Reed, Democrat, of Missouri, on Feb. 22 denounced the League in a vehement and climactic speech, at the conclusion of which an unusual demonstration occurred, both Democratic and Republican Senators flocking to Senator Reed's desk to shake his hands, while the galleries kept up a wave of handclapping.

The contemplated League of Nations, declared the Missouri Senator, abrogates the Monroe Doctrine and surrenders our sovereignty; it opens the way for foreign domination; it makes it possible for the Old World despotisms to outvote and control the United States; it means a plunge into internationalism that may run into Bolshevism and complete abandonment of all the principles for which George Washington and all other leading Americans had stood. He said in part:

I want to burn into the brain and heart of the American people that all the nations in the League will have to yield to the arbitration of all controversial questions by members of the League. There is not to be an arbitration, or an arbitration court, but a decision which can be enforced by the League itself. As the constitution reads, "any matter affecting the peace of the world shall be dealt with by the Executive Council." means any matter that the League thinks may affect the peace of the world. Let those who may doubt not say I have misrepresented. I am quoting from the constitution itself.

This League may be made up to serve the despotisms in it. The United States would yield its sovereign right, for one thing, to fix the size of our army and our navy. We would have to ask the permission of eight gentlemen, six of whom cannot speak our language. To manufacture arms, whether by the Government or by private enterprise, we would have to get a license from these eight foreign gentlemen.

Quoting Article XVI., relating to the agreement of members of the League to support one another, Senator Reed proceeded:

This compels us, in case Serbia should have a fight with Bulgaria or England should have a rebellion in the Transvaal or in Ireland, to render "financial and economic support." The language is that the nations in the League will mutually support one another in resisting any spe-

cial measures aimed at one of their number by the covenant-breaking State. This binds us to go to the support of any member of the League with men, ships, and arms.

We further agree to let the armed forces of any of the high contracting parties who are co-operating to protect the covenants of the League pass through our territory. Any denial that these various obligations, stipulations, and surrenders, taken together, do not amount to a transfer of many of the great sovereign powers of the United States to a League controlled and dominated by foreigners is ridiculous and dishonest,

PRESSURE ON NEUTRALS

Again referring to Article XVI. Senator Reed went on:

But the provision goes further. After declaring that there shall be a prohibition and prevention of all intercourse, financial, commercial or personal, between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State, it declares that the same prohibition shall apply to the nationals of any other State. monstrous provision, translated into direct speech, means if the League has seen fit to issue its decree of excommunication against a State, that a nation not a member of the League and in no manner concerned in the League or in the dispute shall have its commerce ravished from the high seas, its honest trade with a nation with which it is at peace destroyed, its commercial and financial business ruthlessly suspended, and it is made to suffer all the horrors of a war in which it has neither part nor lot.

This is freedom of the seas with a vengeance. It is, in fact, Germany's decree closing a part of the Atlantic extended to every water of the world. It makes the English fleet master; it leaves the nation thus assailed maltreated and deprived of its rights under international law with no recourse save that of tame submission or war.

In a League so constituted, said Senator Reed, there will be a ratio of three monarchies as against two republics; it establishes the votes of four alien nations, closely allied in interests—Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan, the last mentioned nation already in a state of irritation against the United States—against our single vote. It puts this country at a disadvantage, admits interference in our domestic affairs, and may serve foreign despotisms; it surrenders our sovereignty. "It is an astounding "sweep of power. It is a transfer of

"power that Congress never had, that "the framers of the Constitution did not

"put into the hands of the President." This power is put into the hands of the

"Executive Council, six of whom are "representatives of Kings."

SUPPORTED BY SENATOR LEWIS

Senator J. Hamilton Lewis, Democrat, of Illinois, spoke in advocacy of the entire League of Nations project on Feb. 24, saying that it ought to be accepted by the Senate without the change of a syllable. He regretted, he said, the attacks made against the project, most of which, he felt, were induced by partisan-The constitution of the League, he declared, far from departing from the policy of Washington, harmonized with it. It meant, not the entering into a single alliance, but into a balancing of alliances. It meant no danger to the Monroe Doctrine; fears that had been expressed as to this were groundless. He continued:

We ask why this false fear is heralded by Senators. What purpose has Britain to gain by allowing her European or Asiatic rivals in trade for territory to possess South or Central America? Will Spain, France, and Italy, the mothers of the sons of these southern lands, vote their destiny in the possession of Britain? The cry is to awaken prejudice, not to convince by the truth of a situation.

Senators opposing the compact say the Executive Council is composed of five great world States-and, the United States being but one, it would be outvoted in every enterprise of world contest by each nation of the League casting one Such are not in the possibilities. The Executive Council admits the States of the League. France, Britain, and Italy alone have such personal, racial, and commercial interests in all Central and South American countries that these countries are to be among the first to enter. There are eleven republics of America in, with eleven votes. If all of Britain's colonies having independent Governments each have a vote, the United States with Central and South America outvotes the Europeans on any American policy nine to five-assuming only the larger republics admitted to the council.

Other and graver dangers threaten us, said Senator Lewis; the threat of Russia, frenzied with hatred of us; the threat of the Atlantic, which may bear to us the animosities of Europe; the threat of the Pacific, of the mysterious East. Hence, concluded Senator Lewis, we have no alternative; we must be victor or victim. We must unite in a world convention to wipe all war away.

VIEWS OF SENATOR OWEN

Admitting that the covenant of the League of Nations, as at present drawn, was not a perfect document, Senator Robert L. Owen, Democrat, of Oklahoma, speaking on Feb. 26, urged, for one thing, an amendment to make absolute the isolation of any nation that failed to respect the territorial integrity of another. The people of the United States, said Senator Owen, as well as all other peoples, desire international disarmament. Such a result, he pointed out, would be attained by Article VIII. of the League constitution. He asked:

Is not Article VIII. of tremendous importance in removing one great danger to war? Do we not all know that the Teutonic dynasty for over two years was manufacturing on a gigantic scale munitions of war and organizing armaments far beyond domestic need with the intent and purpose to assail the liberties of Europe and to dominate the world by military force? Shall we not remove this danger from our future by international agreement?

Article X., guaranteeing territorial integrity and political independence, Senator Owen stated, was a guarantee of all the nations of the world, and of the utmost importance, for it removed the danger of all war. All offenders against this principle must face the world. Article XI., providing that any dispute or threat of war concerns the League, meant that effective steps would be taken to prevent war before it had crystallized. Article XII., providing first inquiry and arbitration, then judgment, and then a regulated delay of three months, diminished the chance of war greatly, and the clause of compliance implied that there need be no war at all. Articles XII., XIII., XIV., XV., provide that all the signatory powers must submit their disputes to the Executive Council of the League.

Effective as all these provisions might seem, said Senator Owen, even more drastic measures were needed. No war should be permitted, ever. The provision of Article XVI. for commercial isolation did not go far enough; any invader of another nation's territory or political rights should be absolutely cut off from the rest of the world.

As to the objections raised to a surrender of our national sovereignty, Senator Owen was in favor of explicit delimitation. His suggestion follows:

We should insert in the proposed formulated plan that "nothing contained in the instrument itself should be constructed as granting any rights to the League over the internal affairs of member nations, but that every member nation should be recognized as having complete right over its emigration and immigration, its imports and exports, and all its domestic affairs, without any interference whatever by the League."

DENOUNCED BY MR. CUMMINS

Senator Albert B. Cummins of Iowa. Republican, at the same session assailed the League as a weak instrument, and called the guarantee of territorial integrity "destructive, unjust, and reactionary." Senator Cummins said he was not wholly opposed to the entry of the United States into a compact with foreign nations to prevent further wars, but he felt that any consideration of a League of Nations should come after definite peace terms had been made with Germany, He then laid down certain underlying principles which should be fundamental in such a League: (1.) All justiciable disputes should be arbitrable. (2.) Other international disputes should not induce war until after some international body should have discussed and considered it; such influence should be purely moral. (3.) Ostracism should punish the refusal of any nation to accept such discussion or moral judgment. (4.) In disarmament largely lies the hope of permanent peace.

Quoting Article X. of the League covenant, in which the signatories undertake to preserve the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League and engage that its members shall advise on the means of meeting any threat of aggression, Senator Cummins went on:

I do not assert that in the ordinary sense this article is unconstitutional. Within its sphere, our Government has all the attributes of sovereignty, and making treatles with other nations is one of these attributes; and, moreover, the right to make treaties is specifically recognized in the Constitution.

Alliances, offensive and defensive, have been common among the powers of the world, and, while I do not recall a single instance of that character in our own history, I have no doubt of our constitutional authority to enter into a treaty of that kind. I have some doubt with regard to our power to enter into the treaty proposed in the Paris constitution—a doubt arising from the universality and duration of the obligation we are asked to assume.

I am opposed to it, because it is the most destructive, unjust, and reactionary proposal which was ever submitted to a patriotic and intelligent people. I predict that when the citizens of the United States thoroughly grasp the meaning of the proposed agreement and fairly understand its inevitable consequences it will be rejected in a storm of obloquy the like of which has never been witnessed within the borders of the Republic.

The man who, even in his thought, is willing to play with the fate of mankind in this fashion is indifferent to both the lessons of the past and the judgment of posterity. We are solemnly asked to guarantee that the boundaries of nations, as they now exist, or as they will exist when the Peace Conference has redrawn the map of Europe, Asia, Africa, and Oceanica, shall remain without change forever.

"CLIMAX OF SURRENDER"

Going further into the problem of wars for and against territorial aggression, Mr. Cummins proceeded:

I am not advocating wars of aggression, and fervently hope that when the welfare of humanity requires changes in sovereign boundaries they may be peacefully effected; but I would hold myself false to the interest of mankind if I should vote to ratify any treaty which obligated my country, no matter what the circumstances or conditions may be, to send our men to death on the battlefield in any and every land to maintain the boundaries which are now esablished.

I know, and you all know, that we would not fulfill any such obligation, and if we were to enter into it we would be guilty of worse than Punic faith.

Taking up the provision in the League covenant imposing mandates upon the United States and other signatory nations over the weaker nations, Senator Cummins declared that it was "the climax of surrender." He characterized it as the "grossest violation of our powers under the Constitution that has ever fallen under my observation."

Senator Cummins also argued that,

under the present League proposals, Japan would be able to put before the Executive Council a protest against this country's refusal to allow Japanese nationals to become citizens of the United States. This, he said, might lead either to a surrender to Japan or to war. "I "believe that it is possible for us to do "everything that can be done to prevent "war without transferring to a foreign "power the Government of America," said Mr. Cummins.

MR. HITCHCOCK'S DEFENSE

The fluctuating tide of criticism surged up again on Feb. 27 in favor of the League in the speech made by Senator Gilbert M. Hitchcock of Nebraska, Democrat, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. Senator Hitchcock argued that the League was a sure guarantee against future world wars, and that it must be adopted to insure safety from aggression. Replying to arguments affecting Japan and Mexico, he said that Japan had recognized the exclusion laws of the United States, and that Mexico, not being able to give guarantees of international obligations, could not be allowed entrance to the League at all.

The Nebraska Senator extolled the Executive Council of the League as representating five great nations in control of all international disputes, their discussion and action to be influenced and modified by four other nations. All opposers to the project, he declared, were thinking in terms of the past. The argument that such a League would open the way to European despotism was groundless; the spirit of despotism was gone; of the nine nations to be represented in the Executive Council of the League none could be said to be a despotism; in all of them, even Japan, the spirit of democracy is rife. The existence of such a league, with its provisions of arbitration and delay, meant a cooling off of from nine months to a year, and thus made war unlikely. Large armaments would be reduced; the output of munitions would be kept within limits intelligently laid down and controlled by the nations themselves; enormous tax burdens would be eliminated; in the case of the United States it would mean a saving of many billions within the next decade. Some of the main objections to the project were answered by Senator Hitchcock as follows:

We have been told that if we enter this League we would abandon the Monroe Doctrine, that is, we would abandon our right to attack any nation which sought to gain a foothold in the Western Hemisphere. Well, the Monroe Doctrine was enunciated when each nation had to look out for herself, but the purpose of the League of Nations includes the very purpose of the Monroe Doctrine, that is, to prevent the aggression of nations upon each other, and anything that had the character of an attack upon any American republic or of an unfriendly act against the United States would become at once a subject for activity of the League of Nations. Instead of being compelled to defend the Western Hemisphere alone, we would have the sympathy and help of the League of Nations in carrying out the spirit of its organization.

We have been told that this is one of those entangling alliances against which Washington warned us. I deny it. In Washington's day the world was full of alliances, the nations of the world were seeking to maintain, through the theories of the balance of power, their rival interests. Alliances were for the very purpose of waging war, whereas the League of Nations is a great covenant among the democracies of the world for the purpose

of preserving peace.

We have been told that if we agree to the League proposal for the limitation of armaments we would interfere with the power of Congress and impair the sovereignty of the country. Nothing is more ridiculous. A hundred years ago the United States and Great Britain agreed to limit the naval arrangements on the Great Lakes on the border between this country and Canada. The limitation was so rigid that it practically wiped out all naval armament. Yet the Senate ratified the agreement, and so far as I know rot a voice has been heard in Congress or elsewhere to claim that the sovereignty of the United States had been impaired.

SENATOR LODGE'S OPPOSITION

It was left to Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, Republican leader in the Senate, to voice the definite opposition of his party to the formation of such a League of Nations as had been proposed. In his speech before the Senate on Feb. 28 he reviewed the entire project.

At the outset of his address Senator Lodge drew attention to the vast importance of the subject under discussion. All details, he said, in view of this, should be sharply and clearly cut. Misunderstanding was not a good foundation for a treaty to promote universal peace. A draft constituting a League of Nations was before the Senate for criticism and discussion; such criticism and such discussion, he said, should be placed before the eyes of the Peace Conference, and should be published in Paris so that foreign Governments might be informed of the state of public feeling here.

Senator Lodge criticised the vagueness of phraseology of the League covenant; its crudeness and looseness, its lack of verbal precision, conforming neither to the language of law nor to that of statutes. The meaning of the article relating to mandatory rule, for instance, was dubious; it contained both argument and a statement of existing conditions: all statutes or treaties must assert and command. And since the League was clearly intended to be indissoluble, and later abrogation would be impossible, the meaning of the whole charter must be absolutely clear before we sign and ratify it.

In passing upon this proposition, said Senator Lodge, the most careful consideration was necessary, for both the principles laid down by George Washington in his Farewell Address and the Monroe Doctrine were abandoned. Washington was opposed to any permanent alliance with any European power, and had said:

Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmittes.

MONROE DOCTRINE IN PERIL

This proposed draft of a League of Nations, said Mr. Lodge, would mean a permanent alliance with Europe. If we took so momentous a step and abandoned Washington's principles now, we should do so reverently, and with respect. Senator Lodge continued:

But if we put aside forever the Wash-

ington policy in regard to our foreign relations, we must always remember that it carries with it the corollary known as the Monroe Doctrine. Under the terms of this League draft reported by the committee to the Peace Conference the Monroe Doctrine disappears. It has been our cherished guide and guard for nearly a century. The Monroe Doctrine is based on the principle of self-preservation.

It involves but one essential proposition—that the Americas should be separated from the interference of Europe and that American questions in all parts of this hemisphere should be settled by Americans alone.

I have seen it said that the Monroe Doctrine is preserved under Article X.; that we do not abandon the Monroe Doctrine, we merely extend it to all the world. How any one can say this passses my comprehension. The Monroe Doctrine exists solely for the protection of the American Hemisphere, and to that hemisphere it was limited. If you extend it to all the world it ceases to exist, because it rests on nothing but the differentiation of the American Hemisphere from the rest of the world. Under this draft of the statutes of the League of Nations American questions and European questions and Asian and African questions are all alike put within the control and jurisdiction of the League. Europe will have the right to take part in the settlement of all American questions, and we, of course, shall have the right to take part in the settlement of all questions in Europe and Asia and Africa. Europe and Asia are to take part in policing the American Continent and the Panama Canal, and in return we are to have, by way of compensation, the right to police the Balkans and Asia Minor when we are asked to do so.

CONSTRUCTIVE SUGGESTIONS

If it is said that you can preserve the Monroe Doctrine by extending it, which appears to me clearly to mean its destruction and to be a contradiction in terms, then let us put three lines into the draft for the League which will preserve the Monroe Doctrine beyond any possibility of doubt or question. It is easily done. Let us also have, if we enter the League, a complete exclusion from the League's jurisdiction of such questions as are involved in immigration and the right of each country to say who shall come within its borders and become citizens. This and certain other questions vital to national existence ought to be exempted from any control by the League or its officials by a very few words, such as can be found in the arbitration treaties of 1907. There should be some definite provision for

peaceful withdrawal from the League of any nation desiring to withdraw.

Lastly, let us have a definite statement in the constitution of the League as to whether the League is to have an international force of its own or is to have the power to summon the armed forces of the different members of the League. Let it be stated in plain language whether the "measures," 'recommendations," or the suggestions of the Executive Council are to be binding upon the members of the League and are to compel them to do what the League delegates and the Executive Council determine to be necessary. On the question of the use of force we should not proceed in the dark. If those who support the League decline to make such simple statements as these, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that they are seeking to do by indirection and the use of nebulous phrases what they are not willing to do directly, and nothing could be more fatal to the preservation of the world's peace than this, for every exercise of power by the Executive Council which the signatories to the League might fairly consider to be doubtful would lead to very perilous controversies and to menacing dissensions.

We now in this draft bind ourselves to submit every possible international dispute or difference either to the League court or to the control of the Executive Council of the League. That includes immigration, a very live question. Are we ready to give to other nations the power to say who shall come into the United States and become citizens of the Republic? If we are ready to do this, we are prepared to part with the most precious of sovereign rights, that which guards our existence and our character as a nation. Are we ready to leave it to other nations to determine whether we shall admit to the United States a flood of Japanese, Chinese, and Hindu labor? If we accept this plan for a League, this is precisely what we promise to do. Are we prepared to have a League of Nations, in which the United States has only one vote, open our doors if they see fit to any and all immigration from all parts of the

Unless some better constitution for a League than this can be drawn it seems to me that the world's peace would be much better, much more surely promoted, by allowing the United States to go on under the Monroe Doctrine, responsible for the peace of this hemisphere, without any danger of collision with Europe as to questions among the various American States.

Among the constructive propositions offered by Senator Lodge were these:
(1) To put in three lines to preserve

irrevocably the Monroe Doctrine; (2) exclude immigration and other problems affecting our national existence by a few words; (3) allow the possibility of a peaceful withdrawal from membership in the League; (4) clarify the question of whether the League is to have an international force of its own, or whether it shall have the right to summon the forces of the signatory nations; and whether those signatories shall be compelled to observe its mandates.

If the United States enters this League, concluded Senator Lodge, for the benefit of the world at large, we shall be altruists, and we have a right to know exactly on what we are embarking. The whole question is one fraught with enormous difficulties. We should first make peace with Germany, said the Senator, and take care of the immediate problems; we should bring our soldiers home, and defer the constitution of this League for later and more careful consideration.

SENATOR KNOX'S SPEECH

At the session of March 1, Senator Philander C. Knox, Republican, of Pennsylvania, ex-Secretary of State and now a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, in a speech lasting more than two hours, spoke in favor of a modified League that would save our sovereignty. Senator Knox criticised the proposed constitution of the League of Nations. first for "looseness of expression," which, he said, characterized it throughout, and then because it appeared to set up two operating entities for its enforcement, the "high contracting parties" and the League itself. He warned especially against leaving the Central Powers out of the League, saying the inevitable result would be "to drive them more "closely together for mutual self-pro-"tection, thus making the formation of a " second League of Nations bidding for "adherence from neutral States almost "a certainty."

Senator Knox continued:

Thus at no distant date we should have two great Leagues of Nations and two great camps, each preparing for a new and greater life-and-death struggle. Even the term League of Nations is a deceptive misnomer, for under this proposed plan the nations of the world are divided into three classes:

First—Signatories of the covenant; these are not named, but it is assumed they will include and possibly be confined to the five great Entente Powers, that is to say, the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, and the United States.

Second—States not signatory but named in the protocol. No information is given as to who these States are, though surely they will include such Entente Powers, if any, as are not signatories, as well as certain other States neutral in the conflict now closing.

Third—Those States which are neither signatories nor protocol States and which must, to be admitted to the League, be prepared to give certain effective guarantees as to their intention to be bound by their international obligations. These latter are outcast States, and presumably include the Central Powers and their allies in the war.

Thus a League of Nations in the sense of all the nations is not created by this document, nor are the States members of the League treated as equals.

DIFFICULTY OF WITHDRAWAL

The term league is a misnomer in another and really vital matter. For a league connotes a confederation, and a confederation implies a right in the several parties to withdraw at their will. But there is no right of secession within the four corners of this covenant. On the other hand, the association here provided for is a union in the full sense of that term, as applied to our own political institutions. Once in this union we remain there, no matter how onerous its gigantic burdens may become.

No matter how great the distaste and revulsion our people may have for it, we must remain members until either we persuade all the States represented in the Executive Council and three-fourths of those represented in the body of delegates to bid us depart in peace, or until the League crumbles of its own weight or is destroyed by its enemies, or until we fight our way out against the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, and all the lesser States they are able to persuade to join the League.

Senator Knox took up the six operative bodies of the League and criticised them one by one. As to the body of delegates, Senator Knox's chief criticism was that the constitution contained no provisions for their appointment, removal, compensation, or tenure.

Senator Knox objected to the formation of the Executive Council because it would be composed of only nine of half a hundred States and practically would have the power to declare war, make its own laws, sit as a court, and enforce its own judgments.

"A body clothed with powers such as "given to this council is an anachro"nism," said Senator Knox. "It belongs "to the days of the Medes and the Per"sians. A union more abhorrent to our "traditions, free institutions, and the "trend of all civilized government could "not be devised."

Mr. Knox ended by urging that the League of Nations be postponed for later consideration, not alone by the victorious belligerents, but by all the nations. "Let us see to it,' he said, "that this "League which is to usher in a reign of " righteousness upon the earth shall com-"prise all peoples that dwell upon it, in-"cluding our regenerated, democratized "enemy. Meanwhile, our co-belligerents "need have no anxiety, for so surely as "the sun rises, if the Hun flood again "threatened to engulf the world, we "should again be found fighting for the "right with the same complete accord "and co-operation as in the past, all for "the defense of civilization."

SENATOR SHERMAN'S ATTACK

The League of Nations project, as well as President Wilson, its sponsor, were violently assailed on March 3 by Senator L. Y. Sherman, Republican, of Illinois. Senator Sherman's most sensational outburst was in the form of an extemporaneous interpolation into his prepared address, bitterly assailing the attitude of President Wilson in connection with the League plan, and charging that the President was making an issue of universal peace for campaign purposes in 1920. Charging that the League was not what the President would have it seem, Mr. Sherman said:

This League sends the angel of death to every American home. Will the American people approve the proposal? On this I challenge the President and the Administration before the American people. I call upon the President to consent to a repeal of the Espionage act, so that the restrictions may be lifted from free speech and a free press and full discussion given the details of this scheme. If the President is not a political and Governmental coward he will comply with this demand.

Charging further that the President had usurped power to force upon the American people a League which conflicted with the Constitution and abandoned their rights, Senator Sherman continued:

The creation of a nameless thing to sit in star-chamber judgment and decree implicit obedience to its mandates cannot be borne by free men. By a ukase it will embargo our commerce, close our Exchanges, destroy credits, leave our merchandise rotting on the piers, shut the Isthmian Canal, order Congress to declare war, levy taxes, appropriate money, raise and support armies and navies, and dispatch our men to any quarter of the globe to fight and die because an alien Executive Council has willed it. Executive Council is the brains of this unhallowed creation. What it decides in the mysterious depths of the silent unrevealed caverns of European intrigue will dominate the body of delegates.

MR. LODGE'S RESOLUTION

The culmination of the whole Senatorial discussion came in the form of a resolution circulated through the Senate by Mr. Lodge embodying the proposal to reject the League of Nations constitution as now drafted. After the customary preliminary clauses this resolution read as follows:

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the Senate of the United States in the discharge of its constitutional duty of advice in regard to treaties, that it is the sense of the Senate that, while it is the sincere desire that the nations of the world should unite to promote peace and general disarmament, the constitution of the League of Nations in the form now proposed to the Peace Conference should not be accepted by the United States.

A further clause demanded that the consideration of the League of Nations should be deferred until the completion of "the urgent business of negotiating peace terms with Germany," and that this negotiation be expedited. On objection by Senator Martin (Dem.) the resolution was not received, but Senator Lodge succeeded in reading the names of thirty-nine Republican members of the next Senate who had approved it—more than one-third of the body which must ratify any treaty by a two-thirds vote before it becomes effective. The thirty-nine Republican Senators who will be

members of the new Senate and who signed the resolution are:

Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts. Philander C. Knox of Pennsylvania. Lawrence Y. Sherman of Illinois. Harry S. New of Indiana. George H. Moses of New Hampshire. James W. Wadsworth, Jr., of New York. Bert M. Fernald of Maine. Albert B. Cummins of Iowa. Francis E. Warren of Wyoming. James E. Watson of Indiana. Thomas Sterling of South Dakota. Joseph Frelinghuysen of New Jersey. Warren G. Harding of Ohio. Frederick Hale of Maine. William E. Borah of Idaho. Frank B. Brandegee of Connecticut. William M. Calder of New York. Walter E. Edge of New Jersey. Henry W. Keyes of New Hampshire. Boies Penrose of Pennsylvania. Carroll S. Page of Vermont. George P. McLean of Connecticut. Joseph I. France of Maryland. Medill McCormick of Illinois. Charles Curtis of Kansas. Lawrence Phipps of Colorado. Selden P. Spencer of Missouri. Charles F. Townsend of Michigan. Hiram W. Johnson of California. William P. Dillingham of Vermont. Irving L. Lenroot of Wisconsin. Miles Poindexter of Washington. Howard Sutherland of West Virginia. Truman H. Newberry of Michigan. L. Heisler Ball of Delaware. Reed Smoot of Utah. Asle J. Gronna of North Dakota. Albert B. Fall of New Mexico. Davis Elkins of West Virginia.

The last two names were added subsequently to the announcement of the original thirtyseven.

Such was the status of the League of Nations project when President Wilson departed on March 4 to deliver his New York address and to sail on his second journey to Paris.

REACTION IN EUROPE

The serious nature of the attack which the League of Nations encountered in the United States caused a striking change in the attitude of the French press and of the European delegates in Paris. France had at first been very critical of the project. Paris newspapers such as Le Figaro and l'Echo de Paris had attacked it, comparing it to the ill-fated Holy Alliance, and even Le Temps had handled it in a critical spirit, regarding it as an inade-

quate protection against future German aggression. The moment it became apparent, however, that President Wilson's program was in danger of being defeated at home these newspapers changed their tone almost over night and rallied to his support. Their altered attitude was understood to reflect that of the French Government as expressed by Leon Bourgeois when he admitted in an interview that France would rather have a League of Nations such as the one proposed than no League at all.

A similar change was noted in the Peace Conference itself. Delegates who had been saying that the covenant was a mere scrap of paper because it did not contain a binding provision for the use of force, and who had been working for British and American concessions in that direction, now began to fear the failure of the whole project and became advocates of the covenant as it stood. Only Germany denounced it, regarding the proposed League as unjust to the German people. Premier Orlando cabled Italy's unqualified support. The attitude of England was summed up by Mr. Balfour in these words to a correspondent:

One of the most important things to be decided, though not by us, is the share our brothers across the Atlantic are going to take in these new responsibilities. It would be an impertinence on our part to offer them advice, and I should not like to seem to be doing so. But I may say that an immense responsibility rests on the American people. They have come into the war. Their action has had a profound importance. Their service to mankind in this crisis will make a great page in their history. But that service is only half accomplished if they do not take a share in the even more responsible labors of peace.

Speaking as I have a right to speak for my Government, I would add that what is going on in America at this moment is at least as important for the success of our labors as what is going on in Paris. The New World ought to play at least as important a part in the future international organization as in the past the old countries of Europe have taken in the Middle East.

The final effect of the assault upon the League and of the increasing signs of demoralization in Central Europe due to food conditions and long-continued suspense was to speed up the peace preliminaries. Premiers Lloyd George and Clemenceau gave every evidence of an intention to have the peace treaty ready for President Wilson's examination by the time he returned to Paris, and there were indications that discussion of the League of Nations would not be permitted to delay the final peace pourparlers a day.

HOW ALLIES WERE CONVERTED

The process by which the Allies, and especially France, had been won to the League idea was described as follows by Charles H. Grasty, the Paris and London correspondent of The New York Times:

It must be remembered that when Mr. Wilson arrived in Europe on Dec. 13, practically everybody-that is to say, European officialdom and the conservative element in the allied countries-was opposed to the League of Nations idea. Everybody had his tongue in his cheek. They regarded Wilson as a great man in many ways, and America as, of course, the strongest country, and financially and economically, if not militarily, necessary to the Allies. Therefore it was good policy on the part of the allied nations to receive the American President respectfully. But aside from a few individuals, such as General Smuts and Lord Robert Cecil, the ruling classes were extremely cold to the Wilsonian doctrine.

Wilson addressed himself to the task of lining up the European Governments with patience, energy and tact. He didn't try to coerce anybody, and he listened to opposing opinion with an openness of mind that was a most pleasant surprise to European politicians. The identity of interest and tradition existing between England and America enabled Mr. Wilson to reach an agreement with the Lloyd George Government quickly. In Paris the matter was more difficult. France as a nation welcomed Wilson as a deliverer. That is, the people themselves looked upon him in that way, and welcomed him for that reason. Clemenceau was gradually won over by the Wilson diplomacy and the manifest interest of his country.

It must never be overlooked that security for France is the bullseye problem in the whole after-war situation. How to protect 40,000,000 people from 80,000,000 is a problem that is comparable to protecting a rabbit from a bulldog. France is the loveliest country in the world, and the French are a people we all esteem and have a real affection for. But the German people have brute strength and all

the associated qualities of virility, and there are numerically twice as many of them; so that holding them in check against a weaker nation is a matter that calls for co-operation and helpfulness.

Clemenceau and the ruling class in France generally hope to encompass future security by extending French territory to the eastward, using the Rhina as a barrier, and so crippling Germany that it will be impossible for her, at any time within several generations at least, to attack France successfully. It was not only Wilson's method with Clemenceau, which was very happy, but the gradual growth of the French Premier's conviction that the use of direct force would be less effective than the League of Nations, that brought him around to the advocacy of the idea. So, a few weeks

after President Wilson's arrival, the League of Nations idea was accepted, and the debate turned on the question of the number and size of the teeth that should be put into it.

There was another thing that drove Clemenceau toward the Wilson proposals. He is a man without a party and with not too many friends in official circles, and the politicians are after his scalp. He was a very great man as a war Premier, but the vast rebuilding work that must be done in France is not a work that appeals to his temperament. Wilson's friendly approach and the efficacy of the plan presented by him therefore overcame Clemenceau's dislike of theories and his partiality for a victory expressed in terms of things—like territory, rivers and mountains, and good hard cash.

Ex-President Taft's Support of the League of Nations Covenant

MMEDIATELY after the adjournment of Congress on March 4 President Wilson left Washington on his way back to Paris, and that evening he reached New York, where he addressed a large audience in the Metropolitan Opera House. On the same platform with him appeared former President William H. Taft, who had long been an active and ardent advocate of a League of Nations. The large auditorium was The Democratic President thronged. and the Republican ex-President came on the platform arm in arm amid vociferous applause. Mr. Taft's address preceded that of Mr. Wilson. Turning to the first important covenant of the League as proposed-limitation of armaments-he explained how each nation could decide for itself whether to abide by the Executive Council's decision or not, and went on:

The importance of providing for a reduction of armament every one recognizes. It is affirmed in the newly proposed Senate resolution. Can we not trust our Congress to fix a limitation safe for the country and stick to it? If we can't, no country can. Yet all the rest are anxious to do this. They are far more exposed than we.

The character of this obligation is affected by the time during which the covenants of the League continue to bind.

There is no stipulation as to how long this is. In my judgment, there should be a period of ten years or a permission for any member of the League to withdraw from the covenant by giving a reasonable notice of one or two years of its intention to do so.

The functions of the Executive Council in arbitration and mediation were explained, Mr. Taft insisting that machinery for these purposes subjected the United States to no danger of being compelled to receive immigrants from Japan and China, since we could refuse to submit the question to arbitration, and, in his judgment, the council as a mediating body should not take jurisdiction.

Even if there were mediation we would run no risk of receiving from the large body of delegates of all the members of the League a unanimous report recommending a settlement by which Japanese immigrants shall be admitted to our shores or Japanese applicants be admitted to our citizenship contrary to our protest. But were it made we are under no covenant to obey such a recommendation. If it could be imagined that all the other nations of the world would then unite their military forces to compel us to receive Japanese immigrants under the covenant, why would they not do so without the covenant?

How much more are we exposed to such a danger with the covenant than without it? I venture to think that the strained nature of this fear is an indication of the character of most of the warnings and objections that are made to the covenant. I have no objection to a clause excluding internal questions from mediation, but it is often hard to draw the line, and I think we might better rely on the common sense and justice of the combined action of all the nations of the world than to attempt a distinction which might exclude some subjects that would take on an international aspect and be a proper subject for mediation between nations.

RESISTANCE OF INVASION

Discussing briefly the covenant in restraint of war, the speaker said:

It is said that this would prevent our resistance to a border raid of Mexico or self-defense against any invasion. This is a most extreme construction. If a nation refuses submission at all, as it does when it begins an attack, the nation attacked is released instanter from its obligation to submit and is restored to the complete power of self-defense. Had this objection not been raised in the Senate, one would not have deemed it necessary to answer so unwarranted a suggestion.

There followed an exposition of the effect of compliance and noncompliance and a discussion of the penalizing boycotting covenant, which was described as a penalty of "heavy, withering effect" and as "likely to frighten any member of the League from a reckless violation of its covenant." Much stress was laid upon the difference between the obligatory boycotting covenant and the power of "recommendation" that any nation contribute military and naval force to back up the decree of the Executive Council. Mr. Taft expressing the opinion that this distinction was insisted upon and reached by a compromise. Expounding this point, he said:

The exercise of the military power of the League must depend upon the common and voluntary agreement of the nations in the face of the danger. The practical result of the looseness of such obligations is likely to be that the nations near the outlaw nation and near the seat of its outlawry would take up arms if the boycott failed in its full object, while those more remote would await the development of the difficulty and be content with the hostile measures short of war until the danger threatens to spread and make the matter a world war.

PROTECTING NATIONAL TERRITORY

Article X., involving the obligation to respect and preserve the territory and independence of League members, will usually not be applicable until a war has been fought to a point showing its specific purpose, the article affording protection in the conclusion of a treaty of peace, Mr. Taft said. He cited Secretary Seward's attitude when Spain attacked Chile and Chile appealed to this country and that of President Roosevelt in the Venezuelan matter as showing the Monroe Doctrine to mean that the United States would not interfere to prevent non-American nations from proceeding by force to collect their debts from American nations provided oppressive measures were not used to deprive the nation of its independence or territorial integrity.

This [said Mr. Taft] furnishes an analogy for the proper construction of Article I. The fact that the Executive Council is to advise what means shall be taken to fulfill the obligation shows that the means to be taken by each nation are means which it shall deem proper and fair under the circumstances, considering its remoteness from the country and the fact that the nearer presence of other nations should induce them to furnish the requisite military force. It thus seems to me clear that the question both under Article XVIII. and under Article X. as to whether the United States shall declare war, and what forces it shall furnish, is remitted to the voluntary action of the Congress of the United States under the Constitution, having regard to a fair division between all the nations of the burden to be borne under the League, and the proper means, whether by the enjoined and inevitable boycott alone, or by the advance of loans of money or by the declaration of war and by the use of military force.

This is as it should be. It fixes the obligation of action in such a way that American nations will attend to America, and European nations will attend to Europe, and Asiatic nations to Asia, unless all deem the situation so threatening to the world and to their own interests as that they should take a more active part.

It seems to me that appropriate words might be added to the pact which should show distinctly this distribution of obligation. It will relieve those anxious in respect to the Monroe Doctrine, it might exclude from forcible intervention any issues between American nations by European or Asiatic nations until requested by the United States or an Executive Council of the American nations formed for the purpose.

Will our country be forced by these covenants into a lot of little wars all over the face of the world? No. In the first place, the existence of the League and its covenants and the immediate self-acting boycotts will restrain most nations, especially small nations, from incurring the penalty of complete world ostracism. The background of possible limited force will be a further restraint. It will minimize war everywhere. The risk of war for the members of the League under the covenant is, therefore, not to be compared with the danger of a recurrence of general war without the League and its covenants. Into such a war we are bound to be drawn.

ADMISSION OF BRITISH COLONIES

Mr. Taft argued that the function of the body of delegates was so unimportant that the admission of the British self-governing colonies into the body was a matter of small consequence. Moreover, its decrees were required to be unanimous.

He contended that the League of Nations should be made part of the peace treaty, and predicted that the Senate would not risk delaying peace by refusing to ratify such a treaty. He argued that the League would stabilize conditions and prevent the spread of Bolshevism.

The address pictured a league of European nations without the United States as futile, and said a return to the old "balance of power" would mean a new and worse war, into which this country would be drawn and which would amount to world suicide. The speaker argued that no constructive criticism of the document had been offered by the United States Senate, and that the President was justified in proceeding with his purpose. He affirmed with reference to the objection to entangling European alliances that Washington's attack was on "offensive and defensive alliances with one nation against another," and "if Washington lived today he would be one of the most earnest and pressing sponsors for the covenant." This war has "changed the face of the world," said Mr. Taft, "and America can no longer be other than a close neighbor of the European powers." Going on to further discussion of the League and the Monroe Doctrine, he elaborated thus:

In some speeches in the Senate intimations have been made which enlarge this doctrine beyond what can be justified. Those who would seek to enforce a Monroe Doctrine which makes the Western Hemisphere our own preserve, in which we may impose our sovereign will on the will of other countries in their own interest because indeed we have done that in the past, should not be sustained. Our conquests of our Western territory of course have worked greatly for the civilization of the world and for our own usefulness and happiness of those who now occupy that territory; but we have reached a state in the world's history when its progress should be now determined and secured under just and peaceful conditions, and progress through conquest by powerful nations should be prevented.

The idea that the conditions in America and in Europe can be maintained absolutely separate, with the great trade relations between North America and Europe, South America and Europe, is looking backward, not forward. It does not face existing conditions. I would have no objection and I would favor a recognition of the Monroe Doctrine, as I have stated it, by specific words in the covenant, with a further provision that the settlement of purely American questions should be remitted primarily to the American nations with machinery like that of the present League, and that European nations should not intervene unless requested to do so by the request of the American na-

EUROPE'S ATTITUDE

The speaker said Europe wanted us in the League for the sake of our aid in controlling Europe and not that they might control America, and he felt they would be "relieved if the primary duty of keeping peace and policing this Western Hemisphere was relegated to us and our western colleagues."

He strongly sustained the constitutionality of the covenant and insisted that in previous treaties declared to be constitutional by the Supreme Court the same principles were incorporated. The objection that we have no right to agree to arbitrate issues, since we might thus lose our territorial integrity or our political independence, was characterized as "a stretch of imagination on the part of the distinguished Senator who made it at which we may marvel." The speaker argued at length that the agree-

ment to arbitrate or mediate involved the violation of no constitutional power and showed how Congress would function in the event of such action. Then he denied that the League would affect the sovereignty of this country in these words:

The covenant takes away the sovereignty of the United States only as any contract curtails the freedom of action of an individual which he has voluntarily surrendered for the purpose of the contract and to obtain the benefit of it. The covenant creates no super-sovereignty. It merely creates contract obligations. It binds nations to stand together to secure compliance with those contracts. That is all. This is not different from a contract that we make with one nation. If we enter into an important contract with another nation to pay money, or to do other things of vital interest to that nation, and break it, then we expose ourselves to the just effor of that nation by force of arms to attempt to compel us to comply with our obligations.

This covenant of all the nations is only a limited and loose union of the compelling powers of many nations to do the same thing. The assertion that we are giving up our sovereignty carries us logically and necessarily to the absurd result that we cannot make a contract to do anything with another nation because it limits our freedom of action as a sovereign.

Sovereignty is freedom of action of nations. It is exactly analogous to the liberty of the individual regulated by law. The sovereignty that we should insist upon and the only sovereignty we have a right to insist upon is a sovereignty regulated by international law, international morality, and international justice, a sovereignty enjoying the sacred rights which sovereignties of other nations may enjoy, a sovereignty consistent with the enjoyment of the same sovereignty of other nations. It is a sovereignty limited by the law of nations and limited by the obligation of contracts fully and freely entered into in respect to matters which are usually the subjects of contracts be-

President Wilson's New York Address Delivered in the Metropolitan Opera House

RESIDENT WILSON was greeted by enormous throngs upon his arrival in New York in the evening of March 4, 1919, and his journey from the Pennsylvania Station to the Metropolitan Opera House was a continuous ovation. The public interest in his advocacy of the League of Nations plan was indicated by the fact that nearly 100,000 applications for seats had been made to the committee in charge of the meeting where he was to speak. As the seating capacity of the Metropolitan Opera House is only 3,426, and as only 500 are allowed by law to be admitted for standing room, nearly nineteentwentieths of the applicants had to be disappointed. Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York presided.

After Mr. Taft had spoken Mr. Wilson delivered the following address, first paying a warm tribute to Mr. Taft's nonpartisan devotion to the cause of a League of Nations:

My Fellow-Citizens: I accept the intimation of the air just played; I will not come back "till it's over over there." And yet I pray God, in the interests of peace and of the world, that that may be soon.

The first thing that I am going to tell the people on the other side of the water is that an overwhelming majority of the American people is in favor of the League of Nations. I know that that is true; I have had unmistakable intimations of it from all parts of the country, and the voice rings true in every case. * * *

I do not know when I have been more impressed than by the conferences of the commission set up by the Conference of Peace to draw up a covenant for the League of Nations. The representatives of fourteen nations sat around that board—not young men, not men inexperienced in the affairs of their own countries, not men inexperienced in the politics of the world; and the inspiring influence of every meeting was the concurrence of purpose on the part of all those men to come to an agreement, and an effective working agreement, with regard to this League of the civilized world.

NEED TO WATCH INTRIGUE

There was a conviction in the whole impulse; there was conviction of more than one sort; there was the conviction that this thing ought to be done, and there was also the conviction that not a man there would venture to go home and say that he had not tried to do it.

Mr. Taft has set the picture for you of what a failure of this great purpose would mean. We have been hearing for all these weary months that this agony of war has lasted of the sinister purpose of the Central Empires, and we have made maps of the course that they meant their conquests to take. Where did the lines of that map lie, of that central line that we used to call from Bremen to Bagdad? They lay through these very regions to which Mr. Taft has called your attention, but they lay then through a united empire, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, whose integrity Germany was bound to respect, as her ally lay in the path of that line of conquest; the Turkish Empire, whose interests she professed to make her own, lay in the direct path that she intended to tread.

RESPONSIBLE AS TRUSTEES

And now what has happened? The Austro-Hungarian Empire has gone to pieces and the Turkish Empire has disappeared, and the nations that effected that great result-for it was a result of liberation-are now responsible as the trustees of the assets of those great nations. You not only would have weak nations lying in this path, but you would have nations in which that old poisonous seed of intrigue could be planted with the certainty that the crop would be abundant: and one of the things that the League of Nations is intended to watch is the course of intrigue. Intrigue cannot stand publicity, and if the League of Nations were nothing but a great debating society it would kill intrigue.

It is one of the agreements of this covenant that it is the friendly right of every nation a member of the League to call attention to anything that it thinks will disturb the peace of the world, no matter where that thing is occurring. There is no subject that may touch the peace of the world which is exempt from inquiry and discussion, and I think everybody here present will agree with me that Germany would never have gone to war if she had permitted the world to discuss the aggression upon Serbia for a single week. The British Foreign Office suggested, it pleaded, that there might be a day or two delay so that the representatives of the nations of Europe could get together and discuss the possibilities of a settlement. Germany did not dare permit a day's discussion. know what happened. So soon as the world realized that an outlaw was at large the nations began one by one to draw together against her.

We know for a certainty that if Germany had thought for a moment that Great Britain would go in with France and with Russia she never would have undertaken the enterprise, and the League of Nations is meant as a notice to all outlaw nations that not only Great Britain but the United States and the rest of the world will go in to stop enterprises of that sort. And so the League of Nations is nothing more nor less than

the covenant that the world will always maintain the standards which it has now vindicated by some of the most precious blood ever spilled.

The liberated peoples of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and of the Turkish Empire call out to us for this thing. It has not arisen in the council of statesmen. Europe is a bit sick at heart at this very moment, because it sees that statesmen have had no vision, and that the only vision has been the vision of the people. Those who suffer see. Those against whom wrong is wrought know how desirable is the right and the righteous. The nations that have long been under the heel of the Austrian, that have long cowered before the German, that have long suffered the indescribable agonies of being governed by the Turk, have called out to the world, generation after generation, for justice, for liberation, for succor; and no Cabinet in the world has heard them. Private organizations, pitying hearts, philanthropic men and women have poured out their treasure in order to relieve these sufferings; but no nation has said to the nations responsible: "You must stop; this thing is intolerable, and we will not permit it." And the vision has been with the people. My friends, I wish you would reflect upon this proposition: The vision as to what is necessary for great reforms has seldom come from the top in the nations of the world. It has come from the need and the aspiration and the self-assertion of great bodies of men who meant to be free. And I can explain some of the criticisms which have been leveled against this great enterprise only by the supposition that the men who utter the. criticisms have never felt the great pulse of the heart of the world.

IGNORANCE OF OPPONENTS

And I am amazed—not alarmed, but amazed—that there should be in some quarters such a comprehensive ignorance of the state of the world. These gentlemen do not know what the mind of men is just now. Everybody else does. I do not know where they have been closeted, I do not know by what influences they have been blinded; but I do know that they have been separated from the general currents of the thought of mankind.

And I want to utter this solemn warning, not in the way of a threat; the forces of the world do not threaten, they operate. The great tides of the world do not give notice that they are going to rise and run; they rise in their majesty and overwhelming might, and those who stand in the way are overwhelmed. Now the heart of the world is awake, and the heart of the world must be satisfied. Do not let yourselves suppose for a moment that the uneasiness in the pepulations of Europe is due entirely to economic causes or economic motives; something very much deeper underlies it all than that. They see that their Governments have never been

able to defend them against intrigue or aggression, and that there is no force of foresight or of prudence in any modern Cabinet to stop war. And therefore they say, "There must be some fundamental cause for this," and the fundamental cause they are beginning to perceive to be that nations have stood singly or in little jealous groups against each other, fostering prejudice, increasing the danger of war rather than concerting measures to prevent it; and that if there is right in the world, if there is justice in the world, there is no reason why nations should be divided in the support of justice.

WORLD COUNTING ON US

They are therefore saying if you really believe that there is a right, if you really believe that wars ought to be stopped, stopthinking about the rival interests of nations, and think about men and women and children throughout the world. Nations are not made to afford distinction to their rulers by way of success in the manoeuvres of politics; nations are meant, if they are meant for anything, to make the men and women and children in them secure and happy and prosperous, and no nation has the right to set up its special interests against the interests and benefits of mankind, least of all this great nation which we love. It was set up for the benefit of mankind; it was set up to illustrate the highest ideals and to achieve the highest aspirations of men who wanted to be free; and the world-the world of today-believes that and counts on us, and would be thrown back into the blackness of despair if we deserted it.

I have tried once and again, my fellowcitizens, to say to little circles of friends or to large bodies what seems to be the real hope of the peoples of Europe, and I tell you frankly I have not been able to do so because when the thought tries to crowd itself into speech the profound emotion of the thing is too much; speech will not carry. I have felt the tragedy of the hope of those suf-

fering peoples.

It is tragedy because it is a hope which cannot be realized in its perfection, and yet I have felt besides its tragedy, its compulsion -its compulsion upon every living man to exercise every influence that he has to the utmost to see that as little as possible of that hope is disappointed, because if men cannot now, after this agony of bloody sweat, come to their self-possession and see how to regulate the affairs of the world, we will sink back into a period of struggle in which there will be no hope, and, therefore, no mercy. There can be no mercy where there is no hope, for why should you spare another if you yourself expect to perish? Why should you be pitiful if you can get no pity? Why should you be just if, upon every hand, you are put upon?

SPIRIT OF THE SOLDIERS

There is another thing which I think the critics of this covenant have not observed.

They not only have not observed the temper of the world, but they have not even observed the temper of those splendid boys in khaki that they sent across the seas. I have had the proud consciousness of the reflected glory of those boys, because the Constitution made me their Commander in Chief, and they have taught me some lessons. When we went into the war, we went into it on the basis of declarations which it was my privileg to utter, because I believed them to be an interpretation of the purpose and thought of the people of the United States. those boys went over there with the feeling that they were sacredly bound to the realization of those ideals; that they were not only going over there to beat Germany; they were not going over there merely with resentment in their hearts against a particular outlaw nation; but that they were crossing those three thousand miles of sea in order to show to Europe that the United States, when it became necessary, would go anywhere where the rights of mankind were threatened. They would not sit still in the trenches. They would not be restrained by the prudence of experienced Continental commanders. They thought they had come over there to do a particular thing, and they were going to do it and do it at once. And just as soon as that rush of spirit as well as rush of body came in contact with the lines of the enemy, they began to break, and they continued to break until the end. They continued to break, my fellow-citizens. merely because of the physical force of those lusty youngsters, but because of the irresistible spiritual force of the armies of the United States. It was that they felt. It was that that awed them. It was that that made them feel, if these youngsters ever got a foothold, they could never be dislodged, and that therefore every foot of ground that they won was permanently won for the liberty of mankind.

NEW ATTITUDE OF EUROPE

And do you suppose that having felt that crusading spirit of these youngsters, who went over there not to glorify America but to serve their fellow-men. I am going to permit myself for one moment to slacken in my effort to be worthy of them and of their cause? What I said at the opening I said with a deeper meaning than perhaps you have caught; I do mean not to come back until it's over over there, and it must not be over until the nations of the world are assured of the permanency of peace.

Gentlemen on this side of the water would be very much profited by getting into communication with some gentlemen on the other side of the water. We sometimes think, my fellow-citizens, that the experienced statesmen of the European nations are an unusually hard-headed set of men, by which we generally mean, although we do not admit it, that they are a bit cynical. that they say "This is a very practical

world," by which you always mean that it is not an ideal world; that they do not believe that things can be settled upon an ideal basis. Well, I never came into intimate contact with them before, but if they used to be that way, they are not that way now. They have been subdued, if that was once their temper, by the awful significance of recent events and the awful importance of what is to ensue; and there is not one of them with whom I have come in contact who does not feel that he cannot in conscience return to his people from Paris unless he has done his utmost to do something more than attach his name to a treaty Every man in that conference of peace. knows that the treaty of peace in itself will be inoperative, as Mr. Taft has said, with out this constant support and energy of a great organization such as is supplied by the League of Nations.

And men who when I first went over there were skeptical of the possibility of forming a League of Nations admitted that if we could but form it it would be an invaluable instrumentality through which to secure the operation of the various parts of the treaty; and when that treaty comes back, gentlemen on this side will find the covenant not only in it, but so many threads of the treaty tied to the covenant that you cannot dissect the covenant from the treaty without destroying the whole vital structure. The structure of peace will not be vital without the League of Nations, and no man is going to bring back a cadaver with him-

PUZZLED BY SOME CRITICISMS

I must say that I have been puzzled by some of the criticisms-not by the criticisms themselves; I can understand them perfectly, even when there was no foundation for them; but by the fact of the criticism. I cannot imagine how these gentlemen can live and not live in the atmosphere of the world. I cannot imagine how they can live and not be in contact with the events of their times, and I particularly cannot imagine how they can be Americans and set up a doctrine of careful selfishness, thought out to the last detail. I have heard no counsel of generosity in their criticism. I have heard no constructive suggestion. I have heard nothing except "will it not be dangerous to us to help the world?" It would be fatal to us not to help it.

From being what I will venture to call the most famous and the most powerful nation in the world we would of a sudden have become the most contemptible. So, I did not need to be told, as I have been told, that the people of the United States would support this covenant. I am an American and I knew they would. What a sweet revenge it is upon the world. They laughed at us once, they thought we did not mean our professions of principle. They thought so until April of 1917. It was hardly credible to them that we would do more than send a few men over

and go through the forms of helping, and when they saw multitudes hastening across the sea, and saw what those multitudes were eager to do when they got to the other side. they stood at amaze and said: "The thing is real, this nation is the friend of mankind as it said it was." The enthusiasm, the hope, the trust, the confidence in the future bred by that change of view are indescribable. Take an individual American and you may often find him selfish, and confined to his special interests; but take the American in the mass and he is willing to die for an idea. The sweet revenge, therefore, is this, that we believed in righteousness, and now we are ready to make the supreme sacrifice for it, the supreme sacrifice of throwing in our fortunes with the fortunes of men everywhere. Mr. Taft was speaking of Washington's utterance about entangling alliances, and if he will permit me to say so, he put the exactly right interpretation upon what Washington said, the interpretation that is inevitable if you read what he said, as most of these gentlemen do not. And the thing that he longed for was just what we are now about to supply; an arrangement which will disentangle all the alliances in the world.

SEES ALL ALLIANCES DISENTANGLED

Nothing entangles, nothing enmeshes, a man except a selfish combination with somebody else. Nothing entangles a nation, hampers it, binds it, except to enter into a combination with some other nation against the other nations of the world. And this great disentanglement of all alliances is now to be accomplished by this covenant, because one of the covenants is that no nation shall enter into any relationship with another nation inconsistent with the covenants of the League of Nations. Nations promise not to have alliances. Nations promise not to make combinations against each other. Nations agree that there shall be but one combination, and that is the combination of all against the wrongdoer.

And so I am going back to my task on the other side with renewed vigor. I had not forgotten what the spirit of the American people is, but I have been immensely refreshed by coming in contact with it again. I did not know how good home felt until I got here.

The only place a man can feel at home is where nothing has to be explained to him. Nothing has to be explained to me in America, least of all the sentiment of the American people. I mean about great fundamental things like this. There are many differences of judgment as to policy—and perfectly legitimate—sometimes profound differences of judgment; but those are not differences of sentiment, those are not differences of purpose, those are not differences of ideals. And the advantage of not having to have anything explained to you is that you recognize a wrong explanation when you hear it

In a certain rather abandoned part of the frontier at one time it was said they found a man who told the truth; he was not found telling it, but he could tell it when he heard it. And I think I am in that situation with regard to some of the criticisms I have heard. They do not make any impression on me, because I know there is no medium that will transmit them, that the sentiment of the country is proof against such narrowness and such selfishness as that. I commend these gentlemen to communion with their fellow-citizens.

CONFIDENT OF THE FUTURE

What are we to say, then, as to the future? I think, my fellow citizens, that we can look forward to it with great confidence. I have heard cheering news since I came to this side of the water about the progress that is being made in Paris toward the discussion and clarification of a great many difficult matters, and I believe that settlements will begin to be made rather rapidly from this time on at those conferences. But what I believe, what I know as well as believe, is this: That the men engaged in those conferences are gathering heart as they go, not losing it; that they are finding community of purpose and community of ideal to an extent that perhaps they did not expect; and that amidst all the interplay of influence - because it is infinitely complicated-amidst all the interplay of influence, there is a forward movement which is running toward the right. Men have at last perceived that the only permanent thing in the world is the right, and that a wrong settlement is bound to be a temporary settlement-bound to be a temporary settlement for the very best reason of all, that it ought to be a temporary settlement, and the spirits of men will rebel against it, and the spirits of men are now in the saddle.

When I was in Italy a little limping group of wounded Italian soldiers sought an interview with me. I could not conjecture what it was they were going to say to me, and with the greatest simplicity, with a touching simplicity, they presented me with a petition in favor of the League of Nations. Their wounded limbs, their impaired vitality were the only argument they brought with them. It was a simple request that I lend all the influence that I might happen to have to relieve future generations of the sacrifices that they had been obliged to make. That appeal has remained in my mind as I have ridden along the streets in European capitals and heard cries of the crowd, cries for the League of Nations, from lips of people who, I venture to say, had no particular notion of how it was to be done, who were not ready to propose a plan for a League of Nations, but whose hearts said that something by way of a combination of all men everywhere must come out of this. As we drove along country roads weak old women would come out and hold flowers up to us. Why should they hold flowers up to strangers from across the Atlantic? Only because they believed that we were the messengers of friendship and of hope, and these flowers were their humble offerings of gratitude that friends from so great a distance should have brought them so great a hope.

It is inconceivable that we should disappoint them, and we shall not. The day will come when men in America will look back with swelling hearts and rising pride that they should have been privileged to make the sacrifice which it was necessary to make in order to combine their might and their moral power with the cause of justice for men of every kind everywhere.

God give us the strength and vision to do it wisely! God give us the privilege of knowing that we did it without counting the cost and because we were true Americans, lovers of liberty and of the right!

DEPARTURE FOR FRANCE

President Wilson went directly from the Metropolitan Opera House to the pier at Hoboken, where the United States transport George Washington was waiting to carry him and his little partyincluding Mrs. Wilson-to France for the second time. Owing to the recent attempt to assassinate Premier Clemenceau in Paris, extraordinary care had been taken to guard the President, both at his departure from Washington and on his arrival in New York. From the moment he left the train at the Pennsylvania station until he reached his suite in the George Washington long after midnight he was guarded by every available man in the New York police force. The provisions made in this regard were the most extensive in the city's history. In addition to the 700 detectives stationed in the vicinity of the opera house there were details of uniformed men from almost every precinct in New York, and similar precautions were taken at the pier.

The George Washington lay at the pier the rest of the night and departed quietly the next morning, March 5, at about 8:30, with few witnesses to see it off—a marked variation from the President's first departure for the Peace Conference. After an uneventful voyage President and Mrs. Wilson landed at Brest on March 13 and proceeded at once to Paris.

Japan's Ambitions in Siberia

Aims of Japan's War Party Checked by the United States Before the Armistice

By CARL W. ACKERMAN

[CORRESPONDENT OF THE NEW YORK TIMES IN THE FAR EAST]

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Mr. Ackerman returned in March, 1919, from a tour of many months through Siberia, China, and Japan, and revealed certain facts, hitherto unknown outside of the Chancelleries, regarding Japan's activities in Siberia and the reasons why the expedition sent by the Allies to aid Russia had not accomplished all that had been expected of it. After explaining that Japan was divided between two parties almost equally strong—a war party, which desired to go ahead with aggressive policies in Siberia and China contrary to the policies of the United States and the Allies, and a peace party, which sought a peaceful solution of Far Eastern problems by diplomatic methods, Mr. Ackerman wrote as follows:

Y first observation in Siberia was that there were several times as many Japanese troops as all other allies combined. Japanese soldiers were stationed in every village and city. Above every railroad station from Vladivostok to Tchita, along both the Amur and the Chinese eastern railroad lines in Siberia and Manchuria, waved the Japanese flag. Every railroad bridge and nearly every public building was guarded by Japanese. Whenever England, France, or the United States would order a Lieutenant or Captain to another town or village away from the base at Vladivostok on some special work, the Japanese would dispatch a Major to the same place. If the Allies sent a Major or Colonel, the Japanese would send a General. Every time the American headquarters or the French or British Army commanders in Siberia moved a soldier or a regiment, whenever an allied soldier or officer landed or arrived in Siberia, the Japanese General Staff in Vladivostok had to be informed, but the Japanese in turn never informed any of the Allies how many soldiers they had; how many were being brought into Siberia, nor where they were being sent.

At first the Allies did not protest nor question the Japanese policy. The Allies had agreed to work in Siberia under the supreme command of the Japanese and they continued to give Japanese headquarters their respectful support until the opposition within Siberia to the activities of the Japanese Army became so great that, in justice to the Russians and their own countries, the Allies had to take cognizance of the activities of the Japanese soldiers and of the policies of the Imperial General Staff and its political agents.

In the beginning it should be explained that the "fundamental principles" upon which the Allies agreed to co-operate in Siberia were chiefly the following:

1. The allied Governments — Japan, France, England, Italy, China, and the United States—were to land not more than 7,000 troops each; and

2. Except by mutual agreement no armies were to operate east of Lake Baikal, which divides Siberia roughly in half.

Instead of sending 7,000 men the Japanese military party, which was in power in Tokio and which controlled the Japanese headquarters in Vladivostok, sent 72,000.

The United States and the Allies saw immediately that the agreement had been violated, but they made no representations. Meanwhile the Japanese seized all caravan routes and blockaded all ports. Japanese gunboats and monitors were sent up the navigable streams and rivers into the interior. No caravan could move in or out of Manchuria or Siberia without passing Japanese guards. No railroad could be run without being

under the constant scrutiny of the Japanese. No ship could arrive or depart except under the ever-present gaze of a Japanese naval officer. By October, 1918, Japan had Siberia and Manchuria entirely under her power. Siberia was a sleeping giant guarded by 72,000 Japanese soldiers! Japan was in a position at any time to challenge Russians and Allies combined, because the military and naval strength of Japan was greater than that of all other powers combined.

ANXIETY AMONG ALLIES

By the middle of October this situation was causing a great deal of concern. The war was at its height. The Allies could not understand this policy of Japan, especially in view of the constant reports that the German military party and the Japanese military party had come to a secret understanding. There were reports also that Japan and Germany had a secret agreement under the terms of which Japan was to be given control of Siberia from Lake Baikal to This was immediately the Pacific. denied by the Tokio Governmen

The Allies, however, could not help but observe that even if there were no grounds for these reports, nevertheless the Japanese Army and Navy in Siberia and its ports were in a position where they could defy the Allies at any time. Their hold was so firm that if the war were compromised or if the Germans were to win, nothing in the world would force Japan from Siberia, and that country would become what South Manchuria is today.

Still, the Allies were silent. The fighting in France was attracting all of their attention and demanding all reserves.

WAR PARTY WINS AGAIN

There were in the Far East, however, some men who went there for the purpose of helping Russia. These men. after making thorough investigations, reported to their Governments that the Russian railroads were in a terrible state of disorder, and that Russia could never be helped militarily or economically unless the Trans-Siberian Railroad was reorganized and placed upon an efficient business basis. At this time there were present in Harbin and Vladivostok about 200 experienced American railroad men under John R. Stevens and George Emer-These men had been brought to Siberia under an original agreement with the Kerensky Government, but they had been waiting patiently nearly a year for something to do.

England, France, Italy, and later China, together with the new Russian Government which had been formed in Omsk, gave the United States power of attorney to take over the Trans-Siberian Railroad and run it for the benefit of Russia. These six powers realized that nothing of importance could be accomplished in Siberia until the railroad was in efficient hands. When Japan was asked whether she would give her consent, she asked time to consider the proposal.

For two months, September and October, the question was debated in Tokio. The war party objected to any control which was not Japanese from top to bottom. This party maintained that Siberia was one of Japan's spheres of influence and that no other nation and no group of nations had a right to interfere with what the Japanese military party was doing. Another group of Japanese statesmen, backed by all the Chambers of Commerce and big financial institutions of Japan, wanted to compromise with the Allies. But the military party won its point, and Japan made counterproposals accordingly which destroyed all possibilities of an allied agreement regarding the Trans-Siberian Railroad.

For the first time the Allies were convinced by the attitude of the Tokio Government that Japan's policy in Siberia could not be reconciled with the allied policy.

LANSING TAKES A HAND

By Nov. 2 there were so many activities of the Japanese in Siberia which were causing dissension and disunion that Secretary of State Lansing, having all the data in his possession, sent for Viscount Ishii, the Japanese Ambassador in Washington. The Envoy came to the State Department about 4 o'clock one afternoon and Mr. Lansing called his attention to various facts which he had about the obstructive tactics of the Japanese military party in Siberia, pointing out the violation of the original agreement regarding the number of troops, showing how the settlement of the railroad problem was being postponed by Japan's opposition, and calling the Ambassador's attention to the work of General Takishima.

The Secretary of State pointed out the obvious outcome of the developments in Siberia if the Japanese military party was permitted by the Japanese Government to continue its policies and activities in Siberia. Just what words the Secretary used to impress Viscount Ishii with the seriousness of the situation I do not know. One version is that he told the Japanese Ambassador he hoped the work of the military party would not cause a break in the good relations between the United States and Japan, and another version says that the Secretary pointed out how the activities of the Japanese military party were very similar to those of the German war party and that the latter had already led to a war between Germany and the United States.

Viscount Ishii returned to the embassy in Washington and dispatched a long code message to Tokio, which arrived there on a Sunday night. As is customary, Secretary Lansing sent a copy of his remarks to United States Ambassador Roland S. Morris in Tokio for the information of the Ambassador. Morris was at this time acting as the chief diplomatic observer and official for the United States in Siberia. On Monday morning Ambassador Morris called at the Tokio Foreign Office, only to be informed that the Minister of Foreign Affairs could not see him for two or three days.

During these critical days of early November there developed a political storm in Japan. Information as to the attitude of the United States quickly reached the Japanese statesmen and business men through the Foreign Office. Word was sent, too, to the Japanese War and Navy Departments, and a series of conferences was begun to determine the future

relations between the United States and Japan. The war party was for defying America. The business interests and peace statesmen, who learned for the first time of the activities of the Japanese Army in Siberia, sided with the United States. For three days the debate continued, and during this period no one knew whether there was war or peace ahead.

SETBACK FOR WAR PARTY

But within four days the sane elements of Japan triumphed. party met its first great defeat at the hands of its own people. The Japanese Government telegraphed new orders to General Otani immediately. He was instructed to send back to Japan 35,000 soldiers. A few days later another order was sent to him in Vladivostok ordering the return of 17,000 men. Another order still was dispatched ordering General Takishima to Tokio, and, after most of these troops had left Siberia, General Inagaki, Chief of Staff of the Japanese General Staff in Vladivostok, a gentleman and a diplomat, who with General Otani was not in thorough sympathy with the tactics of General Takishima, called upon Major Gen. William S. Graves, the American commander in Siberia, to express the regrets of the Japanese staff for past practices and to state that thereafter Japan and the United States would work together in complete harmony in Siberia.

For the time being it looked as if the victory in Japan over the war party was complete, but those who thought all difficulties were at an end underestimated the influence of General Takishima. He was the chief politician of the Japanese military party. He was Japan's Ludendorff. When he arrived in Tokio another political storm appeared, which resembled a typhoon in its suddenness and effect. All the anti-American sentiment in Japan came to his support. The military and naval parties united, and, for a time, it looked as if the Cabinet might fall because of the opposition of these two groups. In the United States, perhaps, their power is not realized, but it can be readily explained.

According to the Japanese custom and

law, no Cabinet can be formed without a Secretary of War and a Secretary of the Navy chosen from the highest ranking officers in the War and Navy Departments. These two departments combined lead the war party. They control the Secretaries of War and Navy as long as they are members of the Ministry, and they decide whether a new Cabinet in process of formation shall have their support. Thus, in practice, no Cabinet can be formed and no Cabinet can live without the support of the War and Navy Departments or the war party.

EFFECT OF ARMISTICE

This club was in the hands of General Takishima, and he was on the point of wielding it with great power when Germany collapsed and the armistice was signed. The fall of the German military party was something which the Japanese military and naval leaders never expected, and their power was so great, their astonishment so complete, that they would not believe the telegraphic news of Germany's humiliation. For twentyfour hours they prohibited the Japanese newspapers from printing the terms of the naval armistice, and withheld the details of the land armistice. Finally. when the news dispatches were confirmed by official telegrams, they realized that, for the time being, their fight was at an end and the peace party in Tokio could not be overthrown.

By the first part of February, however, the war party had again appeared on the political horizon, and had a sufficient amount of influence with the Tokio Cabinet to block still the efforts of the United States, acting on behalf of all the other Allies, to bring about an agreement as to the reorganization and operation of the Trans-Siberian Railroad. The Japanese military party had been working secretly in Siberia despite the events of early November. Through financial and moral support of the Japanese, General Semenoff, the 28-year-old Cossack in Tchita, was interfering with the transportation of supplies to the Czechoslovak armies. Semenoff was refusing, also, to recognize the Kolchak dictatorship. At one time the Czechoslovaks were on the point of attacking Semenoff when the Japanese stopped the military trains.

Thus, in February, the State Department in Washington was compelled again to bring the issue of the operation of the Trans-Siberian Railroad to a decision. Again the attention of the Japanese Government was called to the fact that a policy which the Allies had agreed upon five months pervious was still undeveloped because of the opposition of Japan's war party.

At this time every Chamber of Commerce in Japan, every large importing and exporting house, every large financial institution, and every statesman who had been working for Japanese-American friendship united in supporting that party in Japan which sought a solution for the difficult Russian railroad problem. and an agreement was reached-the understanding which was but recently announced by Acting Secretary of State Polk. Under this agreement the Trans-Siberian Railway is to be operated under the direction of an allied board and under the protection of an allied military staff. The Japanese war party, for the present at least, is impotent, but recent reports from the Far East indicate that this party is still active and that it is at work on a new plan of invasion to begin next Spring, according to which the 52,000 troops which were withdrawn from Siberia last November and December are to be sent back supported by 50,000 more.

[By March 15, 1919, American troops had begun taking control of strategic points on the Trans-Siberian Railway west of Vladivostok as far as Tchita. On the Ussuri branch they had already been stsationed at Spasske and Khabarovsk. Czech troops were guarding the line from Irkutsk to Cheliabinsk, and Japanese troops were guarding the Chinese Eastern Railway. The whole railway system was being rapidly reorganized by Mr. Stevens with the various allied contingents all assisting in apparent harmony.]

Events of the Month in Russia

Military Operations in the Archangel and Other Regions— Conditions Under the Soviet Government

[PERIOD ENDED MARCH 15, 1919]

HE Bolsheviki up to the end of the first week in February had waged a war on four fronts, and the advantage had been largely on their side. Despite occasional reverses, they had defeated the Allies in the north, south, east, and west during the preceding four weeks. They then began to extend their rule over disputed territory in the Archangel region, in the Ukraine, in the Urals, and on the Polish frontier. The only regions in which their advance was checked were Esthonia, where Lithuanian troops, aided by Finnish volunteers, turned back some of the Bolshevist forces, and Kungur, where they lost heavily in the week of Feb. 9.

On the north the front is twofold, that of the Murman or Kola peninsula, north of the White Sea, and that of Archangel, south of it. Nearly four hundred miles of impassable country separates the two sectors. The Kola region is safe, being above the Arctic Circle. To defend Archangel the Allies with some 15,000 men. including 5,000 Americans, are spread out fan-shaped over a front of about 350 miles, facing a Bolshevist force of 30,000, constantly reinforced. On the east the Allies have an advanced post at Pinega, on the river of that name, which flows into the Dvina. About eighty miles to the southwest is another post at Onega, on the river and Gulf of Onega, which forms the southernmost extremity of the White Sea. These two posts are 160 miles apart.

The Bolshevist forces were concentrated along the Vologda Railway, and between that line and the Vaga River, an affluent of the Dvina, they had machine guns and artillery.

By a gas attack on Jan. 30 the Bolsheviki forced the American and allied forces to evacuate Tarasevo. Between this date and Feb. 11, the Bolsheviki were driven back from Smedmakrenga

southward, and their offensive momentarily ceased.

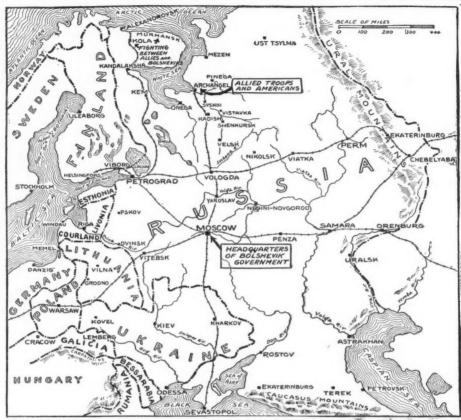
By an arctic journey of probably the greatest magnitude since the famous Klondike gold rush, a journey planned and directed by the members of Sir Ernest H. Shackleton's antarctic expedition, additional British troops were brought to reinforce the greatl, outnumbered troops opposed to the Bolsheviki.

Between Feb. 26 and March 3 the lull, which had lasted for fully three weeks, was broken. The Bolsheviki pushed an attack against the Allies 160 miles south of Archangel; on March 3 the Allies still held Vistavka. Tulgas was shelled again by the Bolsheviki. The latter were evidently attempting to cut off the American column along the Dvina, which is thirty miles south of the confluence of this river with the Vaga. The Bolsheviki had reorganized and had a great superiority both in men and guns.

The Bolsheviki resumed hostilities on March 7 by bombing the American positions on the Vaga from an airplane. The machine used was the first one observed to bear the New Red Army identification mark, a six pointed red star. The half-destroyed village of Kadish, which has changed hands six or seven times, was evacuated by the Americans. The Bolsheviki on March 10 shelled the village of Vistavka on the Vaga, almost completely destroying it.

As a result of allied advances southward along the Murmansk Railroad (Feb. 19) part of another Russian province, Olonetz, was added to the territory of the Government of the North. M. Ermolov, Assistant Governor General of Murmansk, was appointed Provincial Commissioner of Olonetz.

It is estimated that the Bolsheviki lost at least 500 killed from Feb. 28 to March 13. The American casualties to that date



MAP OF RUSSIA SHOWING CHIEF CENTRES OF WARFARE WITH THE BOLSHEVIKI

in North Russia were 460, of which 192 were killed or missing.

IN THE BALTIC PROVINCES

The Bolshevist advance into Esthonia lagged somewhat. An official statement issued by the Esthonian Army Headquarters Feb. 27 reported severe fighting near Narva, Pskov, Volmar, and Salisburg, and claimed that the Esthonians had repulsed the Bolsheviki, inflicting serious losses in killed and wounded. Bolshevist newspapers, commenting anxiously upon the reverses sustained in the fighting against the Esthonians, ascribed the Bolshevist defeats to fatigue, bad equipment, inferior supplies, and poor transportation. Advices from Stockholm, however, dated March 2, said that the Bolsheviki had bombarded Narva, using 5,000 shells. They had destroyed 175 farms, and killed twentyfour civilians. The population was reported to be in flight.

The ports of Libau and Windau in Courland, which were taken by the Bolsheviki on Jan. 31, were reported to have been recaptured by the Germans. Windau was retaken in a simultaneous land and sea attack. The Bolsheviki were driven out of towns northeast of Libau. The German Legation at Libau reported on Feb. 25 that the Bolsheviki had occupied the island of Oesel, and had assassinated the Secretary of the German Legation, his wife and a courier. On March 11 a British squadron arrived at Libau with a British commission on board.

In Lithuania the Bolsheviki suffered defeat, and requested a suspension of hostilities, which the victorious Lithuanians, who had reached a point about thirteen miles east of Vilna, refused. The Bolsheviki were quiet on the Lithuanian front up to March 2.

The Ukraine disappointed both the Germans and the Allies, and her for-

tunes with the Bolsheviki are still in doubt. Splitting off from Russia, she made a separate peace at Brest-Litovsk with the Germans, who expected great receipts of grain from the Ukrainian harvests. But the Germans did not get the grain, and when they came to take it, the peasants burned it up rather than give it to them. Germany forced the Bolsheviki to make peace with the Ukraine, but when the German troops withdrew, the Bolsheviki at once invaded the country and captured Kiev, the capital of the Ukrainian Republic. Part of General Petlura's troops went over to the Bolsheviki, and the rest were forced to withdraw.

A new factor was injected into the Ukrainian situation by the appearance of General Denikine, former Chief of Staff of the Russian Army, and the military power behind the anti-Bolshevistic Government of Ekaterinodar, affiliated with the Omsk Government against the Bolshevist régime. Denikine had been actively engaged for several months; on Jan. 14 he administered a severe defeat to the Bolsheviki on the River Kuma, in the Caucasus. In a dispatch dated Feb. 13 it was reported that Denikine's army had reached the Caspian Sea, having advanced 350 versts, (about 231 miles,) and captured 31,000 prisoners, 95 guns, and eight armored trains. A Bolshevist force of more than 100,000 was routed.

During the period between Feb. 10 and March 4 the Bolsheviki again occupied Kiev. They levied a contribution of 200,-000,000 rubles on Kiev, and forced the bourgeois class to exchange houses with the population of the slums and ghetto quarter of the town. The whole of the Kiev-Kovel line is in Bolshevist hands. Petlura, the Ukrainian dictator, a strong pro-ally, is inadequately supported. Odessa and a small belt around that city are held by French troops.

The fighting between the Ukrainians and the Poles at Lemberg is described elsewhere in the article on Poland. The negotiations between the Interallied Mission and the Ukrainians finally led to a short armistice, which the Ukrainians themselves denounced. The

failure of the armistice negotiations in Galicia is attributed to the great confusion in the internal political situation in the Ukraine.

THE EASTERN FRONT

According to a dispatch of Feb. 13, the Omsk Government accepted the offer of Japan to furnish men, money, and arms to use against the Bolsheviki. The Japanese Staff at Vladivostok, Feb. 19, requested Colonel Henry D. Styer to turn over to the Japanese the arms, horses, and equipment of the Cossack troops of General Kalmikoff, who mutinied late in January and surrenderd their arms and horses to the Americans. Kalmikoff, it was reported, had carried out a reign of terror in the Ussuri district. Early last December the American and Japanese authorities were forced to warn Kalmikoff to cease his harsh treatment of the inhabitants of this district. Late in January 1,500 of his troops, the bulk of his force, revolted against Kalmikoff and surrendered their arms and horses to the Americans. Major Gen. Graves, the American commander, refused a verbal demand of the Japanese Staff that he cease to protect these mutineers, in view of the danger of a resumption of the former terrorism. Attacks made against the Americans because of this alleged "protection" were answered by Colonel Styer in the following official explanation:

The American troops have no intention of defending or sheltering political parties or groups, whether they are called Bolshevist or other names. The Americans recently disarmed the Cossack deserters for the sole purpose of avoiding blooshed and disorder. We are keeping them under guard while the Allied Council at Vladivostok decides what is to be done with them. The American troops are always ready to act conjointly with the commander of the allied forces in the defense of safety.

Brig. Gen. Inagaki of the Japanese Staff in Siberia later explained that the disposition of these deserters was wholly in the hands of the Americans, but that the arms and equipment demanded had been furnished to Kalmikoff by the Japanese. The matter was adjusted later by the gradual release of the deserters.

Allied control of the Trans-Siberian Railway was effected March 6 by the formal organization of technical and military committees. M. Oustrougoff, Minister of Communications in the Omsk Government, heads the Interallied Committee, and John F. Stevens, the American railway expert, the Technical Committee.

The United States is represented on the Interallied Committee by C. H. Smith, once of the Missouri Pacific Railway, and on the Military Committee by Colonel Gallagher, Quartermaster of the American Expeditionary Forces.

THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT

Leon Trotzky, the Bolshevist War Minister, wrote from Moscow on Feb. 14 to a friend in Geneva, asserting that Bolshevism was spreading throughout Russia and Siberia. After peace was declared, he said, a new campaign would be started among the workers of the world to fight imperialism and capitalism. Trotzky also boasted of Bolshevistic success in Germany. Trotzky was continuing his efforts to build up the Soviet Army, which was then estimated at 600,000 men. Among the Red Army

are special corps of women; the Commissaries are attempting to employ many women in the ministries and other offices, but the majority of them, it is said, leave soon. A fight against religion is going on. Moscow's celebrated Church of St. Basil has been closed. The statue of Our Lady of Iverskia has not been destroyed, but is covered by a piece of calico, on which is printed: "Religion is opium for the people."

The Russian Soviet Government, with a view to promoting a plan for a world-wide communist revolution, has appointed a new Minister to be known as International Commissary. The new Minister is a Swiss named Moor, who was a friend of Nikolai Lenine, the Bolshevist Premier, and Leon Trotzky, the Bolshevist Minister of War and Marine, when they lived in Switzerland.

Despite the reports of unspeakable conditions, a Russian wireless dispatch received in Paris on Feb. 25 said that the Soviet Government authorized the entry into Russia of the commission which the recent International Socialist Congress at Berne proposed to send to investigate conditions; the Soviet Government, the message stated, would guarantee the commission every facility.

Sufferings of the Romanoffs Under the Reds

Statement by Grand Duke Alexander

Former Grand Duke Alexander Michaelovich, an uncle of the late Czar, was chief of the Russian Aviation Service, and fought for thirty-two months at the front. After the first revolution he retired to the Crimea with others of the Romanoff family, and when the Lenine-Trotzky revolution followed he was in constant danger of execution. In January, 1919, he escaped to Paris, and spent many weeks in vain attempts to get the Allies to give military assistance to Russia. To a representative of the Paris Matin he said:

I HAVE just learned some horrifying news. It was telegraphed from Helsingfors to The London Times, and republished by the Matin. Four Grand Dukes assassinated in the Petrograd prisons! This murder makes sixteen Romanoffs victims of the Bolsheviki. Just recently they killed the Grand Duchess Serge, sister-in-law of the unfortunate Emperor. Among the four Grand Dukes

who have now been put to death in prison are, I fear, two of my brothers. * * * My brother George never meddled with politics. Separated by the war in 1914 from his wife and two daughters, left in London, he had only one wish—to see them again. As to Nicholas, he was well known to Paris; a learned historian, friend to many French academicians, a member of the Institute, a great admirer

of France. To whom was he obnoxious? The four Grand Dukes were seven months in cells, fed three times a week, brutalized every day.

But let us leave these horrors. I would not speak of myself did I not think it was imperative to say what I have seen

in our tortured Russia. After the abdication of the Czar I and my relatives, who were in the army, took the oath to support the temporary Government, during some weeks we were permitted to live and attend to our duties. In March, 1917, we were deprived of our rank, and had to leave our posts. Some of us decided



GRAND DUKE

it was not necessary to remain in Petrograd. I, for my part, went to an estate I had in the Crimea. It is a country house named Aitodor, on the seacoast about five miles from Yalta. My wife, the Grand Duchess Xenia, and all our children went with me. Also the Grand Duke Nicholas, the former Commander in Chief. Afterward the dowager Empress, mother of the Czar, a great friend of France, joined us.

The first days were peaceful. The Grand Duke Nicholas lived in a small villa not far from mine, and we were comparatively unmolested, when, one fine night, two months after our arrival, 300 sailors and soldiers, sent from Sebastopol, broke into my house at 5:30 in the morning. They entered the bedroom of the dowager Empress, who was asleep, but they did not give her or my wife time to dress. As for me, I was dragged off by the soldiers, pistols in hand, and was shut up in my office and kept there for six hours. The house was searched. Naturally, nothing was discovered, for we had all acted in perfect good faith, and neither I nor any of my relatives had ever wished to engage in any conspiracy that could only serve to aggravate the disorder in our unhappy country.

But to return to our life in the Crimea.

The Bolsheviki seized the Government in November, 1917. Anarchy, which is their sole idea of administration, spread gradually to the Crimea. There was a Soviet at Yalta, and this Soviet appointed a Red Guard to watch us. We no longer had the right to occupy our own houses, and were forced to live all together in one house at Dulter with the Grand Duke Nicholas. Our life became wretched and our food scanty, for we were without money. We could not go a step without meeting sailors and soldiers, who overwhelmed us with curses.

The month of April, 1918, was the worst of all. Here I recall the kindness of a man who was really sent us by Providence. The Bolshevik who commanded our guard was not a real Bolshevik. He was a revolutionist, opposed to the massacres. He served in the Aviation Corps during the war, and I had known him before. He was our guardian angel. Every time the Soviet of Yalta sent the inspecting officers this good man, but psuedo Bolshevik, treated us with such revolting severity as to gain the confidence of his superiors. When I saw him alone he talked frankly, and he tried to soften our lot. The simplest way was to satisfy the Soviet of Yalta by persuading them that, at the proper time, he himself would do all the killing.

In April matters came to a climax. We had organized a sort of defense, for any night might bring the final tragedy, and each automobile that came might carry our assassins. We decided to protect ourselves. In a small house in the garden, reserved for the Bolshevist guard. we found some arms. We left them there, for had they been discovered with us we were lost. Four of us were chosen to go at the first alarm and get these arms. We planned some barricades. We were all former army officers, and our leader was once a Commander in Chief. We slept with our clothes on. Not all of us, however. I ought to say that the dowager Empress went to bed regularly every night and slept well. "My children," she said, "if we must die it makes little difference whether we die fully dressed or not. I have a feeling we shall all escape." My wife and my daughter Irene, wife of Prince Yossoupoff, also

kept up their spirits. As for me, I thought our end was certain. I knew from our faithful Bolshevik that on May 1 the Soviet of Yalta intended to celebrate "Labor Day" by the massacre of 2,500 citizens. Useless to add that we would be among the first. The evening before, on April 30, the Germans arrived, not to rescue us, but because it was their plan to seize the Crimea. The Soviet of Yalta ran away.

I pass over this part of the time, for the dowager Empress could not reconcile herself to being saved by Germans. She did her best to show we had never been in danger. Up to Nov. 17 the enemy occupied our country. Then they left, and my children, who were in the garden, came running to me with shouts of joy; it was the allied fleet we had waited for so long. Nearly a year before there had been a rumor that the Allies were at Constantinople. An immense hope took possession of us. Now that our allies were victorious, those by whose sides our army had fought with such courage and devotion, and for so many months; now that the French and the English were there Russia was saved.

I am not in Paris to go into politics, but

to give the facts. Yet let me say France has peremptory reasons for rescuing Russia. The first reason is that a Russia united and powerful and an ally is indispensable if France wishes to keep her position in the world. The second reason is that France has \$4,000,000,000 loaned to Russia, and her small and numerous investors cannot afford to lose. The third reason is that you ought to take out of the hands of the Russian tyrants those who have been your friends to the last minute. You owe this to them, and it is in your power.

If you do not intervene now you may be certain that Germany will, when ready. Beware of Germany. This people now at your mercy conceals a hatred that will show itself later on in Russia. It is for your own safety to hold out a friendly hand to Russia, now almost sinking into the blood and slime of anarchy. Peter the Great said: "A step backward is a step toward destruction." They talk of a League of Nations, of a union of all the peoples for peace. It is to be seen if these nations have not already committed suicide by neglecting so long the Russian situation, which threatens to disrupt the whole of civilization.

The Japanese Army in Siberia

Official War Office Report

THE official story of General Otani's Expeditionary Force in Siberia, with which the American troops under General Graves co-operated, was made public by the Japanese War Office at Tokio on Jan. 31, 1919. It has been translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE by Jihei Hashiguchi, and is as follows:

With the disintegration of Russia in 1917 the German and Austrian influence gradually spread through the Russian possessions, and armed interference in internal affairs at length became a marked feature of the situation. The Japanese Empire, from the viewpoint of self-defense, felt the urgent need of mobilization. In the meantime the Czechoslovak army became a strong factor in Siberia, particularly in the Vladivostok region, so that, in conformity with an American proposal, the War Office authorities,

with the consent of the Government, on Aug. 5, 1918, recommended to his Majesty the Emperor that Japan dispatch to the maritime provinces a detachment of about 12,000 men under the commander of the 12th Division of the Japanese Army. At the same time they proposed to the allied nations, which intended to mobilize for the purpose of rescuing the Czechoslovak army, and to China, with which there were special relations in view of the Sino-Japanese military agreement, that the right of directing the joint military operations be intrusted to the commander of the Japanese Army. This proposal having been agreed upon, the staff of the Vladivostok Expeditionary Army was organized and dispatched. The instructions given to the commander of the 12th Division, upon the dispatching of the staff, were that he should co-operate with the allied armies, rescue, and assist the Czech army, remove the German and Austrian agencies at work in the maritime provinces, and maintain peace and order in those regions. The first body of the detachment departed from Moji and Ujina between Aug. 8 and 21 and was transported to Vladivostok. General Otani, the commander, by an imperial order of Aug. 10, was instructed to prepare to direct the detachment under the commander of the 12th Division, and also the detachments sent by England, America, France, Italy, and China: to advance as soon as possible to the neighborhood of Khabarovsk, to guard important points on the Ussuri Railway line, and, circumstances permitting, to dispatch a portion of his forces westward along the Amur Railway and the Amur River. He left Tokio on Aug. 12, landed in Vladivostok on Aug. 18, and assumed command of the allied armies.

At that time the main body of the Czech Army was marching westward, while a portion of it, remaining along the Ussuri Railway, together with the British and French armies, was being pressed by the enemy, causing a situation verging on danger. Besides, for the allied armies to advance to Khabarovsk without worrying about their rear, there was, in the circumstances, a shortage of forces. General Otani, in conformity with the unanimous desire of the military leaders of the powers, reported this fact and requested the dispatch of a second body of Japanese troops under the commander of the 12th Division. The War Office authorities, with the consent of the Government, obtained the imperial permission to send the additional detachment. The Government notified the Allies of this fact.

The troops under the commander of the 12th Division had been steadily landing in Vladivostok since Aug. 11. Because of the enemy's pressure with superior forces, and because the Czech Army and the British and French armies co-operating in the maritime provinces were in a rather dangerous situation, the commander of the 12th Division, in order to rescue these friendly armies from imminent danger, decided to attack the enemy at once, without waiting for the detachment under him to complete its landing. On Aug. 24 a daring engagement was fought in the neighborhood of Krasfesky. enemy was severely beaten and repulsed. The allied troops at once changed their tactics to swift pursuit and commenced a northward advance along the Ussuri Railway. In this fight our dead and wounded numbered about 190. The enemy's dead abandoned on the battlefield numbered about 300.

IN NORTH MANCHURIA

General Semenoff's detachment, which had been fighting single-handed against the Bolshevists and the German and Austrian war prisoners in the direction of Trans-Baikalia, and which had been gradually pressed back by the enemy since July, 1918, at length retreated into the Chinese territory east of

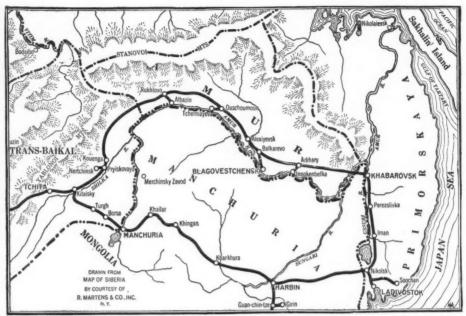
Manchuli. The Japanese residents in that district were persecuted by the enemy. Japanese War Office authorities, with instructions from the Government, recommended to His Majesty the Emperor in the middle of August a mobilization of a portion of the guards stationed in Manchuria, and the Government notified the powers of that fact. Consequently, the Governor General of Kwantung, by an imperial command on Aug. 16, dispatched a detachment of about one mixed brigade under Lieut. Gen. Fujii to Manchuli to protect the Japanese residents there. Another detachment was ordered to prepare to advance between Harbin and Khailar, to reinforce the Fujii detachment when circumstances permitted.

With the progress of the Imperial Japanese Army's operations in the maritime provinces, the Czech army in those districts had been enabled to establish communications with the friendly forces in Western Siberia and to advance gradually westward. But at that time the strength of the enemy in the Trans-Baikal was very great, so that one army alone could not hope to break through the enemy lines. The Czechs repeatedly requested rescue and assistance from us; but the detachment dispatched from Manchuria was very weak, and it was too much to expect it to cope with the situation. Even if an attempt were made to transfer a portion of the Vladivostok forces, the situation in that region would be impaired; hence that was impossible. If abandoned, the Semenoff army might be annihilated by the enemy's superior strength and the inclement Accordingly the Japanese Govweather. ernment yielded to the earnest request of that army, and, seeing the necessity of opening the route before the Winter season set in, the War Office authorities in the latter part of August recommended to the Emperor the dispatching of a force under the commander of the 3d Division. The Government so notified the Allies.

TWO MONTHS' FIGHTING

The Czech Army in the maritime provinces gradually moved westward, and, along the Chinese Eastern Railway west of Harbin, with the help of Japanese, readjusted the military situation. The Fujii detachment on Aug. 26 completed its concentration of forces in the neighborhood of Manchull, and the Semenoff detachment thereby recovered its spirit, and, repulsing the enemy, marched into Trans-Bailkal Province. The enemy in that region was very active and often destroyed the network of our communications; but a portion of the Fujii detachment always succeeded in repulsing the enemy,

On Sept. 1, for the sake of rescuing and assisting the Czech Army, the detachment under the commander of the 3d Division was dispatched in the direction of Trans-Baikalia. With the reinforcement of the Fujii detachment the Semenoff and Czech Armies, advancing toward the Trans-Baikal, were en-



EASTERN SIBERIA, SCENE OF OPERATIONS OF JAPANESE AND ALLIED FORCES

abled on Sept. 2 to establish on the bank of the Onon River communications with the Czech forces that had come from Central Siberia. In the Amur Province and the maritime provinces the advance detachment of the 12th Division, (including the Kalmuikoff detachment of Russians,) after the battle of Krasnoevsk in the latter part of August, marched at top speed about 250 miles further, and on Sept. 4 occupied Khabarovsk. Thereupon, the military activities of the allied admies in the Far Eastern Russian possessions were brought to a glorious termination. The steps which the Japaness War Office authorities then recommended to the Emperor and took were as follows:

1. The Vladivostok Expeditionary Army shall engage in maintaining peace and order in the maritime provinces, and with needed forces shall at once annihilate the enemy in Amur Province.

2. From North Manchuria, a detachment commanded by Major Gen. Funabashi (based upon two battalions of infantry of the 7th Division) shall be dispatched in the direction of the Amur River to cooperate with the Vladivostok Expeditionary Forces.

3. The detachment under the commander of the 3d Division, already ordered to be dispatched, shall be stationed at strategic points in Trans-Baikal Province to maintain order there, and shall send needed forces occasionally along the Amur Railway to co-operate with the Vladivostok Expeditionary Army.

4. The Fujii detachment shall support the Czech and Semenoff armies in their westward advance, and shall facilitate the activities of the detachment under the commander of the 3d Division in the direction of Trans-Baikal Province.

After the arrival of the 3d Division, it shall reorganize itself as a part of the 7th Division and engage in guarding and watching North Manchuria.

5. With the expansion of the area of military activity, the need has been felt to readjust the machinery in the rear to engage in duties of communications, sanitation, supply, &c., so that needed forces shall be sent.

The advanced unit of the 12th Division, (the Yamada detachment and the Nose detachment, the former including a portion of the American and Chinese Armies and the Kalmuikoff detachment, which used the Amur Railway and later sailed up the Amur River on captured ships); the Narabara detachment sent out by Lieut. Gen. Fujii from Trans-Baikal Province of his own accord, and the Junabashi detachment sent from North Manchuria in the direction of Heiho River-all these advanced side by side from east, west, and south, to press the enemy along the Amur Railway. They fought hard and unitedly, and, swiftly advancing, occupied the Amur Railway, which fell completely into their hands on Sept. 22.

The enemy facing the allied forces first formed his camps in the southern regions of Khabarovsk and appeared to be trying to collect tens of thousands of men from different directions in Blagovestchensk in order to strike again. But because of the swift pursuit of the Allies he lost his oppor-

tunity to do so and either fled far northward or surrendered. Especially to be noted was the fact that a greater part of the enemy forces threw down their arms and disguised themselves as good citizens. The detachment under the commander of the 3d Division, along about Sept. 20, reached Trans-Baikalia and replaced the detachment of the 7th Division.

Thereafter the Japanese expedition by command of the Emperor reorganized the occupied regions and endeavored to establish peace and order there. The commander of the Vladivostok Army, in the middle of September, dispatched two companies of infantry of the 12th Division to Nicholaievsk to replace the Japanese marine corps, which had been engaged in guarding that place since the first part of the month, and in protecting the Japanese residents there.

SITUATION IN OCTOBER

In the latter part of October, the Japanese War Office, with the consent of the Government, for the purpose of guarding the land telegraph line from Vladivostok to the border of Korea, dispatched a force based upon one battalion of infantry (peace formation) from the 19th Division in Korea. That telegraph line is a main line of communication between Japan and Vladivostok. Along that line there are many Koreans who are imbued with anti-Japanese ideas, and the communication has frequently been broken. A need was felt to station regular guards along the line.

While the prestige of the enemy had been lowered in all quarters, small uprisings of Bolsheviki and local disturbances had not yet ceased altogether in November. Between December and the middle of January, 1919, the Bolsheviki rose so often within the area guarded by the 12th Division that our Expeditionary Forces had to be sent out seven times. Again, about 300 Bolsheviki who rose on Jan. 10 along the upper part of the Blaya River attacked the Japanese guards. The guards at once repulsed the Bolsheviki, but there were a number of dead and vounded on our side, so that we could not feel that peace and order had been fully established.

At this juncture the Japanese Government decided that our military activities should be confined within the occupied territory.

The War Office, in view of the circumstances at home and abroad, recalled, after the end of October, the Commissariat and other forces, mountain guns, heavy guns, &c., which were necessary in offensive operations. This readjustment was completed by the middle of December, and in the latter part of December the War Office commenced recalling the soldiers, demobilizing the first and second reservists. The number of men who had taken part in the Japanese expedition, and those withdrawn in the readjustment, were as follows:

Number remaining.........About 25,000
The fundamental readjustment of the army at the front is now under consideration.

Unity of command: The 12th, the 7th, and the 3d Divisions, with the detachment sent to South Ussuri, have been variously engaged since August, 1918, in different duties under different systems of command. But now they are all engaged in the duty of watching and guarding. A need was felt to unify the administrative service. So on Dec. 6, the imperial sanction having been obtained, all the activities of the Japanese army within the area of military activities, the administrative affairs related with them, the service in connection with communications and transportation have been placed under the unified control of the commander of the Vladivostok Expeditionary Army. The detachments of the 7th Division and the 3d Division, the detachment dispatched to South Ussuri, and the communication corps have been newly placed under his command. The Governor General of Kwantung was instructed to return to the regular duties of his office.

A table of casualties appended to the report shows that the total of Japanese killed in action up to Dec. 31, 1918, was 77, died of illness 226, and wounded 183.



The Caucasus During the War

By HAIDAR BAMMATE

[Translated from La Revue Politique Internationale for Current History Magazine]

O the people of the Caucasus the world conflict seemed to present the most favorable moment for the realization of their aspirations for an independent national life. tunately, however, those countries where liberalism was fostered—the great Western Powers, England and France, to whom the people of the Caucasus had been accustomed to turn, sometimes in their endeavors to strengthen their international position, sometimes in their attempts to throw off the Russian yoke -found themselves allied with Russian imperialism, while Turkey, which, in conjunction with France and England, had so often supported the people of the Caucasus, had allied itself with the Central Powers. This state of affairs prevented them from appealing to the Western Powers, for they could hardly be asked to work against their principal ally in Europe.

But Turkey, the former co-worker of England and France in the work of liberating the people of the Caucasus, Turkey, to whose territory had fled something like a million and a half of Georgian refugees, found itself once more at war with the Russian persecutors. Despite the absence of their former protectors, England and France, the people of the Caucasus were still able to appeal to Turkey and her new allies, who were not so well known or liked in the Caucasus. In December, 1915, a delegation consisting of representatives of different sections of the Caucasus presented itself at Berlin and at Vienna and depicted to the German and Austrian Governments the intolerable situation of these people and expressed their desire to be freed from Russian domination. In January, 1916, the delegation presented to the Central Powers a memorial, which contained a statement of conditions in the Caucasus, and an appeal for material and moral support for their liberation; it proposed the creation of a Caucasian federation, consisting of three States, which would serve as a buffer State against imperialistic Russia.

GERMANY IN THE CAUCASUS

In its reply, the German Government expressed its sympathy for its project under consideration, declaring itself ready to support the demands of the people of the Caucasus as far as possible. However, after the collapse of Russia due to poor administration, and the many attempts on the part of the various oppressed non-Russian elements toward national independence, when she was called upon to carry her promises into effect, Germany, in order to gain the good graces of the Bolsheviki and the Cossacks, did not fulfill any of the promises made in January, 1916, and May, 1918. In order to secure a foothold in the Caucasus, she took in hand directly the affairs of Georgia, whose independence she compelled the Lenine Government to recognize, while leaving to their own devices and to the mercy of Bolshevist and Cossack terrorism the other people of the Caucasus, who had struggled alone for a century for the liberation of their country.

The people of the Caucasus continued to participate in the various efforts organized with a view to freeing oppressed nationalities. There was the conference of Lausanne, (June, 1916,) where the representatives of twenty-seven oppressed nations publicly condemned the domestic and foreign policy of Russia. The conference expressed its sympathy for the movement for independence among the people of the Caucasus by receiving with an enthusiastic ovation the speech of the grandson of the heroic Schamyl, who took part in the conference

who took part in the conference.

These are the principal stages in the movement for liberation on the part of the people of the Caucasus and their struggles for independence up to the revolution of 1917, which freed non-

Slavic subjects of Russia from the yoke of Czarism and which put an end to the oppression of the various small nationalities comprised in the Russian Empire. During the first days of the Russian revolution the people of the northern part of the Caucasus established a political union in order to work together in the new order of things.

These people, closely allied, as much by their geographic situation as by their racial descent and their economic relations, and by the community of their historical life and their religion, Islamism, arose and set to work once more to attain their national happiness.

NORTH CAUCASUS UNION

At the first assembly of the people of the Caucasus, which took place in May, 1917, at the town of Vladicavkaz, the Union of the People of the North Caucasus and Daghestan was officially ratified and an executive body to represent it was appointed and named the "Central Committee of the Union of the People of North Caucasus and Daghestan."

Following the example of other nationalities in Russia, the people of the Caucasus headed their political program with the demand for the establishment in Russia of a federal republic in which the union should be included on an equal footing. Under the circumstances existing at the time, the demands of the people of the Caucasus could not make any headway.

From the very first days of its activity, the political relations of the committee representing the union in the Caucasus were extremely complicated, as much in the north as in the east. With regard to the Transcaucasian Tartars. who inhabited the territory bordering directly on Daghestan and even including a part of that country, (as, for example, the district of Kouba, inhabited by 200,000 Lesghians,) the situation of the people of the Caucasus was clear. At the time of the formation of the union they had already come into contact with the Transcaucasian Tartars at the first conference of the Mohammedans of the Caucasus, held at Baku in April, 1917, and had established friendly relations with them.

As to the Georgians, the people of the northern part of the Caucasus followed a policy of friendship and neighborliness with regard to them, despite the quarrels arising from the delimitation of the frontiers. The Georgians coveted the southern iron region, basing their claims upon historical and territorial principles, as well as the district of Zakataly, under the pretext that this latter district, because of economic reasons, was drawn toward Transcaucasia. They desired, moreover, the district of Souhom because of the civilizing influence in this quarter claimed by Georgia. No concession whatever in regard to these questions was made to the Georgians by the people of the Caucasus, but, for diplomatic reasons, the latter did not wish to carry the discussion further, preferring to allow time to find a solution for their differences.

ARMENIANS AND COSSACKS

As to the Armenian question, the people of the northern part of the Caucasus are not directly interested in this, because of the small number of Armenians inhabiting that region. Still the union endeavors to preserve the best relations with them. Many Armenians who could not remain in Armenia or in Georgia because of the war found refuge and asylum among the people of the union. The relations of the union with its Cossack neighbors were recognized as extremely heated because of the long-standing emnity, referred to above, which had been created by the policy of the Russian Government. It was the fact that the economic and political advantages of the region had been centralized in the hands of the Cossacks that gave birth to this antagonism. With the revolution came up all the questions of national and economic oppression, all the political injustice which separate the people of the Caucasus and the Cossacks.

In its very first days the Russian revolution presented two questions of the greatest urgency—the question of independent nationalities and the agrarian question. In the declarations of the first President of the Provisional Government, Prince Lvoff, (appointed April 9, 1917,) we already find a negative answer to the

question as to the right of individual nationalities to determine their fate.

THE LAND QUESTION

The agrarian problem, fundamental to the Russian peasant, who has suffered throughout his history from an insufficiency of soil or it unjust apportionment, found a most radical solution in the demands of the revolutionary parties. The cry, "The land to those who cultivate it!" met with general approval. The parties of the Right and of the Left were divided only on the means to this end, the first desiring the purchase and division of the soil in a legal manner. while the others called for its free allotment. It followed, accordingly, that the masses of the people in the Caucasus assumed as their own the aims and problems of the revolution and became its most ardent supporters. That is the reason why the attempt on the part of the Russian counter-revolutionists to overthrow the Provisional Government with the aid of the national cavalry division of the Caucasus and restore the old régime was so easily defeated by the Central Committee of the Caucasus. This committee, through its representatives, explained to the soldiers of the division, practically at the gates of Petrograd, the true aim of the revolution and of the Provisional Government, and succeeded by this means in halting the soldiers of the Caucasus at the very threshold of the Russian capital, which was about to surrender.

The Cossacks, who enjoyed all the rights of a privileged class, conducted themselves with much reserve toward this change of government. But, as the Government came to acknowledge the justice of the demands bearing on the agrarian question and that of nationalization, promising, under pressure from the revolutionary parties, to find a solution in the general interest and in an equitable manner, the Cossacks openly assumed an attitude hostile to the Provisional Government. For the same reason the relations of the people of the Caucasus with the Cossacks, who are in possession of the greatest part of the fertile lands formerly belonging to the people of the Caucasus, went from bad. to worse. Along the Sounja River and in some sections of the province of Terek small engagements took place between the people of the Caucasus and the Cossacks, murders occurred, and villages were pillaged and devastated. At times, these small engagements spread from one place to another, resulting in real battles extending over considerable territory, artillery playing a regular part in them. The people of the Caucasus, crowded together because of their lack of territory, made an onrush into the valleys located at the base of the mountains, which had been taken from them but lately by force. The Cossacks naturally did all they could to defend the invaded territory and endeavored to make the movement undertaken by the inhabitants of the Caucasus appear to the world as an act of brigandage.

Since the Cossacks served as a rampart for reactionaries and for Czarism, the Provisional Government, though entertaining relations with them, regarded them with suspicion, and, as can be well understood, it gave them neither the authority nor the necessary aid toward crushing the movement in the Caucasus. The Provisional Government found that as a result of its abolishment of class distinctions and the establishment of the equality of all citizens before the law, the Cossacks of Terek, of Kuban, and of the Don were arising and beginning to refer to their historical independence, their native customs, and other nationalistic matters, distinguishing themselves from the Cossacks of the rest of Russia in order to secure themselves against the proposed reforms. Thus, the Cossacks assumed a policy of decentralization which sought nothing but selfish

THE SECOND ASSEMBLY

The people of the Caucasus, while lending their interest to the revolutionary ideas, at the same time directed their own political program, seeking in their own territory the creation of a federal union of the people of the northern part of the Caucasus, in order to guarantee to themselves the possibility of living in accordance with their national aspirations. But the rapid

course of the revolution precipitated events, broadened perspectives, required great creative efforts, and by the force of circumstances, the activities of the Central Committee of the Caucasus. which had grown in importance meanwhile, passed the limits of the authority with which it had been vested by the first assembly in the North Caucasus. Accordingly, a second assembly of the delegates of the union met on Sept. 20, 1917, at Vladicaykaz to discuss existing questions and to amend the resolutions of the first assembly. In the meantime, the Nogais and Turkomans of the Stavropol Government (who, not having had time to join the union, had formed a separate alliance with the Karanogais) also joined the Central Committee. The Abkhasians did the same.

The second assembly, therefore, represented all the peoples of the northern part of the Caucasus consolidated into a single nation composed of the following: The peoples of Daghestan, Zakataly, and Terek, the Kabardians, the Balkars, the Ossetinians, the Ingushes, the Chechinzes, the Kumyks, and the Salatais; the tribes of the country of Kuban, the Karatchais, the Abkhasians, the Circassians, the Nogais, the people of the district of Souhoum; the Abkhasians and tribes of the steppes of Terek; the Nogais and Karanogais of the province of Stavropol, and the Turkomans. As is apparent from the foregoing enumeration, the union, through the recognition of the right of self-determination and the absence of any attempt at domination, came to embrace a large amount of territory and realized substantially the ideal of unification for which Schâmyl and his followers had struggled.

DRAFT OF CONSTITUTION

Besides the definite consolidation of the union, the second assembly marked also a new step in their political organization. The Central Committee, which already had at its disposal the experience of work along executive and administrative lines presented to the second assembly a draft of a Constitution for the union. The fundamental principles upon which this draft was based are summarized in the following articles:

- 1. The people of North Caucasus and Daghestan hereby form a political union.
- 2. Each nation within the limits of the union shall enjoy absolute autonomy.
- 3. Two legislative bodies in the form of chambers shall be established for action regarding the general affairs of the union; one of these shall be a lower chamber representing the idea of self-government and composed of Deputies elected to the number of one for every 30,000 men of the population; the other shall be a higher chamber representing the integral parts of the union, and composed of two representatives for each nation included therein.
- 4. The members of the legislative bodies shall choose from their own number the members for the Executive Council; the latter shall elect a President, who will fulfill the functions of the chief of the union.
- 5. A supreme tribunal shall be established, under the jurisdiction of which will come the determination of questions of constitutionality, included in which is the authority to decide on the constitutionality of measures enacted by the legislative chambers, as well as on the acts of the Executive Council and of other integral parts of the union.

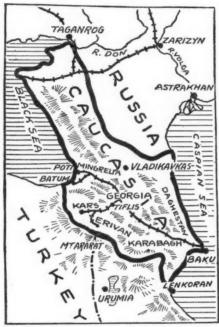
The draft was approved, and it was decided to organize, in accordance with the exigencies of the times, Governmental institutions conforming to the principles set forth, the definite ratification being a matter for the Constitutional Assembly. The Central Committee, composed of fifteen members, was reorganized and fortified with extraordinary powers in order to be prepared to face a most dangerous situation.

AVERTING A CATASTROPHE

The clashes between the people of the Caucasus and the Cossacks threatened to result in a catastrophe; the strife of political parties, threatening new entanglements, the devastation in the wake of a demoralized army returning from the front; the complete disorganization of the railroads and of the sources of supply and of the finances—such were a few phases of the complex problem.

Kerensky's Government had aroused opposition on both sides; on the right, from the Cossacks and the Cadets, for a while so powerful; on the left, from the revolutionary Socialists, the Internationalists, and the Maximalists, with

Lenine at their head. The repeated attempts of Petrograd to unite with the extremist currents on all sides did not result in the establishment of a strong and single power, the absence of which had already begun to make the whole country suffer. The communications between the centre and the outlying sections gradually grew weaker. In the dis-



SKETCH MAP OF THE CAUCASUS

tant regions, especially among the non-Slavic peoples, nationalistic tendencies commenced to manifest themselves. Since the October coup d'état, that is, since the fall of the Kerensky Cabinet and the rise of the Maximalists to power, the people living on the outskirts of the former Russian Empire had broken all connection with Petrograd and Moscow. New Governments were born. Some merely desired the overthrow of the Maximalist Government and the reorganization of the empire, which had crumbled; others, on the contrary, hoisted the banner of separatism.

THE SOUTHEAST UNION

Thus was born in Southern Russia, under the impulse given by the Cossacks and the Cadets, the Southeast Union, at the head of which Russian Nationalists, such as Milukoff, Gutchkoff, Kharlamoff, and the Generals, Alexeieff and Kaledine, placed themselves. This union, of course, sought for the re-establishment of the empire. On the other hand, the Union of the People of the Caucasus, having always been impelled by separatist tendencies, was desirous of severing connections with Russia completely.

In order to reinforce the separatist elements in the Southeast Union, the Caucasians accepted the invitation of this organization to join, delegating four representatives from the Central Committee. They thought thus to put an end to the influence exercised on their own affairs by the Central Government, and, at the same time, to separate the Cossacks from Russia in order to strengthen their own positions, and to be enabled thus to defeat the annexationist projects of Russia and of the Cossacks.

[After sketching the failure of this connection, which lasted only two weeks, the author continues:]

With the departure of the army from the Caucasian front on the one hand, and the rapid headway of the Maximalists in the Don region on the other hand, there was no longer any bond between the Caucasians and the Southeast Union, and the recall of the representatives followed. The Southeast Union, no longer receiving reinforcements from the Caucasians in its struggle against the Maximalists, was forced to give up one position after another, and soon after collapsed.

FIGHTING BOLSHEVISM

Since the overthrow of Kerensky's Cabinet in October, 1917, which resulted in the rise of Bolshevist power in Russia, the Central Committee of the Caucasians, not recognizing the Maximalists, has fulfilled the functions of a de facto independent Government within the territorial bounds of the Union of the Caucasus. This novel situation, resulting from the course taken by the revolution and from the work of the Central Committee, brought about the Act of Dec. 2, 1917, which proclaimed the independence of the Union of the People of the Caucasus and declared the Central Committee the Provisional Government

until the convocation of the Russian Constitutional Assembly. Because of the circumstances, which at the time were not at all devoid of danger, mention had to be made of the Constitutional Assembly, but this idea was soon put to nought by the act of Dec. 21 of the same year, which severed the last connections with Russia and confirmed the separate existence of the union.

The Government of the Caucasus in its act of Dec. 21, 1917, decided upon a series of measures relative to the different branches of Governmental organization, such as the military force, finances, food distribution, division of land, &c., but was not able to carry them out. * * * The union became involved in a desperate struggle with the Cossacks and Russians inhabiting that region. The latter, having already joined the Maximalists, were marching against the native Caucasians. This Bolshevist movement, to whose standard rallied all the Russians living in the Caucasus, was in reality a national movement; the Cossacks and the other Russians did not wish to give up the Caucasus nor the privileges they had secured there, privileges which the union desired to abolish. These were the reasons which led the Cossacks, who up to that time had been desirous of their independence, to become suddenly Centralists, and even Maximalists.

FORCED TO WITHDRAW

The Bolsheviki, having defeated large forces of the Don Cossacks, crossed Kuban, destroying a large number of Circassian villages, and united with the Cossacks of Terek in order to conduct a common campaign against the Caucasians. The latter defended themselves, and even took the offensive, forcing the enemy back with great losses. The military operations became confined to fixed positions, with occasional but violent attacks. A large amount of ammunition was required, and the union saw itself coming to the end of its supply of shells and balls, paying three to five rubles apiece

for these in order to further the defense of their land. Unhappily, these heroic efforts were of no avail; soon no ammunition whatsoever was obtainable.

The Maximalists advanced, and, after hotly contested battles, took possession of the railroad lines from Beslan to Mineralnia Vody. But, in spite of all their efforts, they could not occupy Vladikavkaz for a long time. However, upon the consideration that the city was divided between the Cossacks and the Caucasians. and that during the military operations it might be totally destroyed, including all the edifices and property belonging to the union, the Government decided to abandon the capital and transfer its official seat to Nasran. Even after its abandonment, the Maximalists hesitated to enter the city for a long time. Finally they entered it, taking possession of the railroad line which extends to Grosny.

The Maximalists, when occupying the small number of villages along the railroad, did not succeed in extending their influence over them, or over the masses of the people, who recognized only the authority of the union. This is the only explanation to be given for the check received by the Maximalists, who were not able to advance further into Transcaucasia by the military roads of the iron region or of Georgia, nor across Daghestan.

Eventually, the Government of the Caucasus reorganized its military forces in Daghestan and recovered by force of arms, one by one, all the places it had lost in the preceding months. Thus, the towns of Derbend, Petrovsk, and Vladikavkaz were reoccupied successively. Since August, 1918, the Vladikavkaz-Baku and Vladikavkaz-Naltchik railroad lines have come into the hands of the forces of the North Caucasus Republic. This latter is endeavoring to secure the common action of Transcaucasia against the Bolsheviki and to settle definitely the question of the consolidation into a single State of the people of both parts of the Caucasus.

United States Inquiry Into Bolshevism

Lenine-Trotzky Régime in Russia Described by Eye witnesses—Views of Sympathizers

HE investigation of Russian Bolshevism by the Judiciary Committee of the United States Senate, begun Feb. 11, 1919,* was devoted on Feb. 15 mainly to hearing the testimony of two Americans, Roger E. Simmons of Hagerstown, Md., who had represented the Department of Commerce in Russia, and William E. Welsh of the Petrograd staff of the National City Bank of New York.

Mr. Simmons stated that he had been in a Russian prison for nearly two weeks and that he had witnessed horrors almost indescribable. The prison, he said, was filled with people of the middle class; fully 80 per cent. of these had no knowledge as to why they were condemned. He told of his trials in the stricken country and described the methods of the Reds. He said:

The Bolshevist revolution has as its object the putting into power of a few over the many. The worst feature of their program, and this feature is always emphasized, is that of the spirit of class hatred. In every corner of Russia these people are preaching the religion of class hatred.

In Petrograd I witnessed on one occasion the undressing of a refined woman by several soldiers of the Red Guard. It was in the Nevsky Prospekt at about 6:30 P. M. I heard the scream of the woman, who had been taken into a side street, and saw the soldiers steal the clothes from off her body. The forcible disrobing was accompanied on the part of the soldiers with insulting language. This was just one case, and most of the women subjected to these indignities were women not of the aristocracy, but of the middle class.

Bolshevism is directed against every decent man, woman and child who will not bow down to the dictates of Trotzky and Lenine. In other words, they are now fighting the very class that in the beginning they said they were struggling to put on top and in control. They are fighting

day and night now to put on top not the proletariat as we know it, but the very scum of humanity.

And they are working with all the devilishness they have to spread their doctrines throughout the world. As late as Nov. 18 last Lenine said in Moscow, and I have a copy of the statement with me, that they had sympathizers with great organizations behind them in Scandinavia, in Germany, in England, and in France. He also named this country as one of the targets they were aiming at. "The power that has crushed Germany," he said, "is also the power that will in the end crush England and the United States."

Before leaving Petrograd, said Mr. Simmons, he had been told by persons whose names for obvious reasonshewith-held that Albert Rhys Williams, one of the most active apologists for the Lenine-Trotzky Government, was carrying on a pro-Bolshevist propaganda in the United States.

"This propaganda," he declared, "is false and at the same time insidious."

Mr. Simmons described to the committee in considerable detail some of the criminal actions of the Bolsheviki. He told of a body of official pickpockets organized from the members of the Red Guard, of delicate women of the middle or noble class compelled to work in the streets, of the despotic disfranchisement of all those who were not followers of the Lenine-Trotzky régime; he narrated the story of the allied forces in the Archangel district, whose withdrawal, it was stated, would be followed by the masacre of thousands of innocent people who had actively aided the Allies.

"NATIONALIZATION" OF WOMEN

One of the questions of the committee bore on the so-called "nationalization" of women. In reply to this question the witness read into the record two official decrees for the control of women and the details of the free-love policy formulated in certain Russian cities.

The first of these decrees, issued by

^{*}For record of first days of this investigation see the preceding issue of Current HISTORY MAGAZINE.

the Sovict of Saratov, which took its powers from Lenine and Trotzky, was dated March 15, 1918. The official translation is as follows:

This decree is proclaimed by the Free Association of Anarchists in the town of Saratov, in compliance with the decision of the Soviet of Peasants and Soldiers and Workmen's Deputies of Kronstadt regarding the abolition of the private

possession of women.

Social inequalities and legitimate marriage having been a condition in the past which served as an instrument in the hands of the bourgeoisie, thanks to which all the best species of all the beautiful women have been the property of the bourgeoisie, which has prevented the proper continuation of the human race; such ponderous arguments have induced the present organization to issue the following decree:

1. From March 1 the right to possess women having reached the ages 17 to 32

is abolished.
2. The age

2. The age of women shall be determined by birth certificate or passports or by the testimony of witnesses, and on failure to produce documents their age shall be determined by the Black Committee, who shall judge them according to appearance.

3. This decree does not affect women

having five children.

 The former owners may retain the right of using their wives without awaiting their turn.

5. In case of resistance of the husband he shall forfeit the right of the former

paragraph.

6. All women according to this decree are exempted from private ownership and are proclaimed the property of the whole nation.

7. The distribution and management of the appropriated women, in compliance with the decision of the above said organization, are transferred to the Anarchist Saratov Club. In three days from the publication of this decree all women given by it to the use of the nation are obliged to present themselves to the given address and give the required information.

8. Before the Black Committee is formed for the realization of this decree the citizens themselves shall be charged with such control. Remark: Each citizen knowing a woman not submitting herself to the address under this decree is obliged to let it be known to the Anarchists' Club, giving the full address, full name, and father's name of the offending woman.

9. Male citizens have the right to use one woman not oftener than three times a week, for three hours, observing the rules specified below.

10. Each man wishing to use a piece of public property should be a bearer of cer-

tificate from the Factories Committee, professional union, or Workmen's, Soldiers', and Peasants' Council, certifying that he belongs to the working family class.

11. Every working member is obliged to discount 2 per cent. from his earnings to the fund of general public action. Remarks: This committee in charge will put these discounting funds with the specifications of the names and lists into the State banks and other institutions handing down these funds to the National Generation Fund.

12. Male citizens not belonging to the working class in order to have the right equally with the proletariat are obliged to pay 100 rubles monthly into the public

funds.

13. The local branch of the State bank is obliged to begin to reserve the payments to the National Generation Fund.

14. All women proclaimed by this decree to be the national property will receive from the fund an allowance of 238 rubles a month.

15. All women who are pregnant are released of, the direct State duties for four months, up to three months before and one month after childbirth.

16. The children born are given to an institution for training after they are one month old, where they are trained and educated until they are 17 years of age at the cost of the public funds.

17. In case of a birth of twins the mother is to receive a prize of 200 rubles.

18. All citizens, men and women, are obliged to watch carefully their health and to make each week an examination of urine and blood. Remark: The examinations are to be made daily at the laboratories of the Popular Generation Health.

19. Those who are guilty of spreading venereal disease will be held responsible

and severely punished.

20. Women having lost their health may apply to the Soviet for a pension.

21. The Chief of Anarchists will be in charge of perfecting the temporary arrangements and technical measures concerning the realization of this decree.

22. All those refusing to recognize and support this decree will be proclaimed guilty of sabotage, enemies of the people, and counteranarchists, and will be held to the severest responsibilities.

(Signed.) COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF SARATOV, Russia.

The second decree read by Mr. Simmons was issued by the Soviet of the City of Vladimir. The main provision of this decree orders the registration, at a Bureau of Free Love of the Commissariat of Surveillance, of all girls who have reached the age of eighteen, and

a monthly opportunity to choose from amongst them a cohabitant. The children resulting from these unions, the decree provides, are to become the property of the State. This decree states further that it has been based on the "excellent example of similar decrees already issued at Luga, Kolpin, &c."

Mr. Simmons stated that a similar "project of provisional rights in connection with the socialization of women in the City of Hyelinsk and vicinity" had been published in the Local Gazette of the Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies.

GERMANY AND LENINE

That the faction of Lenine was reported officially to the German Government from Switzerland as the most radical and anarchistic of all, and that on the strength of this report Germany sent Lenine by sealed train into Russia to foment a revolution, was the gist of one portion of Mr. Simmons's testimony.

The maker of the report in question, said the witness, was a conservative, "evolutionary" Russian Socialist, who in 1914, after the war started, was sent to Switzerland by von Bethmann Hollweg, the former Imperial Chancellor, to obtain reliable information regarding the most radical of the Russian-Swiss He was told that Germany stood ready to place 5,000,000 marks to the credit of the proper group, which was to send its agents into Russia for propaganda work. This Russian, according to his own admissions, made under oath in the office of the American Consul General in Moscow, reported Lenine's group as by far the most radical, "but recommended that it should not be selected, because (he said) he was certain that chaos and anarchy would follow in Russia if this group gained the upper hand." This warning was disregarded, and Lenine sent.

RED GUARDS AS POLICE

The Red Guards, said Mr. Simmons, perform in Bolshevist Russia all the functions of police. Their crimes are all co-ordinated and organized. Pocket picking and robbery are systematized. He himself, Mr. Simmons declared, had lost 14,000 rubles in this way.

Death, declared the witness, was meted out swiftly and mercilessly by the Bolsheviki. In Nizhny-Novgorod, he recalled, three Russian sailors who came in to protest against the cutting of their bread allowance were taken out and put under earth within twenty minutes. Two hundred others, who mutinied in protest, were similarly suppressed in regulation Bolshevist style. Another instance cited by Mr. Simmons was of a protest meeting held by employes of a textile mill. The Red Guards made an irruption and killed the speakers and leaders on the spot.

SITUATION IN ARCHANGEL

In the Archangel district, Mr. Simmons declared, the whole population was heart and soul with the Allies. One labor union of 10,000 lumbermen volunteered in a body to fight by the side of the American and British forces. withdrawal of the allied forces from Archangel, said the witness, would mean simple massacre; for "every inch that the Allies have had to give in that country has been followed by the murder of every man, woman and child in the evacuated territory; if we left Archangel now, it would mean one of the most horrible massacres of innocents in the world's history."

When Mr. Simmons finished his story, Senator Overman, the Chairman of the Investigating Committee, thanked him in the name of the Senate, and told him that no American had rendered a greater service of late than he had in bringing before the people of this country the real story of the chaos, anarchism, and immorality that prevail in Russia as a result of Bolshevist domination.

TESTIMONY OF MR. WELSH

William E. Welsh of the Petrograd staff of the National City Bank of New York was the next witness called by the committee. Referring to the makeup of the Soviet Government, Mr. Welsh stated that some of the Bolshevist officials, but not all of them, by any means, were apostate Jews. Others were Slavs. Many of them, he had discovered on talking with them, had lived in the United States from three to ten years.

Mr. Welsh had left Russia in September, 1918. Conditions then were terrible. "The pro-Bolsheviki in America who left "Russia a year or more ago simply do "not know what they are talking about," he declared. An Englishman whom Mr. Welsh met in Petrograd was in that city as late as October, when an order was issued calling for the execution of 1,000 bourgeois for every Bolshevik who met death at the hands of the opposition. In one instance 150 innocent people who had been held as hostages were slaughtered each night for ten nights in succession. These executions were so open that the Bolshevist papers even printed the names of great numbers of the victims.

The brutalities of the Bolsheviki, continued Mr. Welsh, were so incredible that no language could do justice to them. A woman of noble birth, who had been employed by the National City Bank, was subjected to every kind of brutality. The witness continued:

This woman, one of the most gentle I have even known, told me in September as I was leaving Petrograd that twenty-three of her women friends had committed suicide as a result of Bolshevist terrorism. It all happened, she said, in a few weeks, and she herself was only restrained because of her little child. The whole thing, Senators, is so brutal that it is impossible to even begin telling the truth of it.

Regarding the violation of individual property rights Mr. Welsh declared that outside the State Bank, which the Bolsheviki control, stand official "spotters," who point out to recognized highwaymen lurking near all cashers of checks. These "official" thieves follow the designated victim in automobiles, fall on him, and rob him of all the money he has just received.

AN ANONYMOUS WITNESS

On Feb. 16 Major Lowry Humes, counsel for the Senate Committee, gave out certain testimony presented in closed session by an American who is the operating head of one of the largest manufacturing plants in Russia. The name of the witness and the identity of the plant were withheld in order to protect more than 2,000 workmen who have

remained loyal to their employers despite the threats of the Bolsheviki.

The witness stated that he had lived in Russia for nearly fifteen years. For some reason the factory which he operated had not been shut down by the Soviet Government. One of the reasons for this immunity was undoubtedly the fact that it manufactured products needed by the Bolsheviki themselves.

The witness stated emphatically that the Russian factory workmen in general are not Bolsheviki. "I have heard and read," said the witness, "the statement "that Russia is a workmen's Govern-"ment and all that sort of thing. In "my estimation that is absolutely false. "I was always with the workmen, and "the workingmen in Russia, in the fac-"tories, are not Bolsheviki, although "they do not dare to say they are some-"thing else."

The worst element, he said, has come to the top. They are supporting the Government, being paid large sums of money and given the privilege of loot. No one dares question any of the actions of the Red Guard. The Government, he asserted, is made up of the riffraff of the industrial and peasant world. Most of these people came from abroad after the revolution. Their salaries are low, "but they are getting rich on the side, and lots of them are making fortunes."

At first the workmen went with the Bolsheviki. Since the Bolshevist revoltion of Nov. 1, 1917, however, they have become anti-Bolshevist, but have been kept silent by terrorism. Those who expressed contrary views were executed. Disappearance invariably meant execution. The Singer factory, said the witness, was forcibly seized and shut down. The workmen scattered to secure food and loot. In the case of another factory, the Government spent 60,000,000 rubles to produce in three months' time 400,000 rubles' worth of goods.

Enormous taxes levied by the Soviet Government on the factory operated by the witness were resisted by the operators, supported by the Workmen's Committee, and left unpaid. One tax amounted to 900,000 rubles. The taxes levied on the factory as a whole totaled

four and a half million rubles. The witness showed the Bolshevist system of elections to be the merest farce. One anti-Bolshevist Soviet was rounded up by the Bolsheviki, and shot. Only a few escaped. The Bolsheviki then went the rounds of the village, picking out sympathizers. One man chosen was a notorious drunkard, and "never owned, you "might say, the shirt on his back; just "a thug. He was one of the representa-"tives. He was called in and told, 'You "are elected.' That is the way they "carried on the elections there, and I "think you will find that that story is "typical of how they elect their Soviets "all over Russia."

MRS. REED'S TESTIMONY

On Feb. 22 a new phase of the investigation of the Overman Committee, destined to bring out the identity of various persons who are operating in the United States as official or semi-official agents of the Lenine-Trotzky Government, began with the examination of Mrs. John Reed, who writes under the name of Louise Bryant, and who was in Russia during the first ten weeks of the Bolshevist régime.

Mrs. Reed strove to defend Bolshevism. For the most part, she branded as untrue the statements of all previous witnesses. She said she went to Russia as the representative of The Philadelphia Public Ledger and various magazines. Her husband, John Reed, Albert Rhys Williams, and Boris Reinstein of Buffalo, now Lenine's secretary, were all members, she said, of the Bolshevist Propaganda Bureau in Petrograd in the early days of the Lenine-Trotzky régime. Her husband, she stated further, had acted for Colonel Raymond Robins of the American Red Cross, to assist the Soviets in sending propaganda into Germany.

Mrs. Reed declared that the decree of the Soviet Government of the town of Saratov, which "nationalized" women, had never been indorsed by the Bolsheviki. She admitted that the decree was issued long after her departure from Russia, and further admitted that the official Bolshevist Government organ printed the decree issued by the Soviet Council of Vladimir, which imposed de-

grading regulations for the control of women. "But," she insisted, "the Bol-"sheviki explained that they did not "stand for the decree of Vladimir."

This witness declared that she had never witnessed any murders or robberies in Petrograd or Moscow; had seen no people starving in the streets; she declared further that anti-Bolshevist papers published during her stay in Russia were not suppressed. She denied, in general, that chaos reigned in Russia. She admitted, on questioning, that all opposed to the Bolsheviki were considered and treated as traitors, and that temporarily the Bolshevist rule was that of a dictatorship.

In her concluding testimony, presented at the session of Feb. 21, Mrs. Reed referred to the so-called "Sisson documents" as "an example of a clever piece of forgery," which had been given to Mr. Sisson by Colonel Raymond Robins as such. A protest made by her to George Creel, she declared, had elicited from him, in a letter of response, the admission that some of these documents might possibly be fakes. Mr. Creel, she added, had also said that the Administration was behind the documents, and that he believed that most, if not all of them, were accurate records of the German-Bolshevist activities.

Regarding the "nationalization" of women, Mrs. Reed quoted Jerome Davis of the Y. M. C. A. to refute this charge. The Anarchist Club in the Kronstadt Soviet that published the Saratov decree, she asserted, had been suppressed. Passages read by Major Humes from an official report of Mr. Davis to the American Government, describing the suppression of all anti-Bolshevistic papers. were explained by the witness as presumably referring to the "transitory" period.

JOHN REED'S STATEMENT

John Reed, the husband of the preceding witness, was next called. He stated that he had been attached to the International Bureau of Propaganda, a department of the Soviet Foreign Office. Two million rubles, he stated, had been appropriated for this international propaganda work. Five propaganda newspapers, in German, Hungarian, Bohemian, Rumanian, and Turkish, were published daily. Asked about atrocities, Mr. Reed was unable to remember any that had occurred under the Bolsheviki during his sojourn in Russia. He had seen people who were hungry, he said, but no real starvation.

ALBERT RHYS WILLIAMS

The testimony of Albert Rhys Williams was given before the committee at the sessions of Feb. 22 and 24. Mr. Williams, a former Congregationalist clergyman educated in America, England, and Germany, painted the Russian agitators as men who abhor murder and theft, as sincere idealists seeking to erect a Governmental Utopia in Eastern Europe and Siberia. Speaking of the Bolsheviki as they are described in this country, the witness continued:

I want to say that there is no Bolshevist Government in Russia. In Russia it is a Soviet Government, which has in it all parties, that governs. In every Soviet you will find that four out of five of the members are young men, generally under 35 years of age, men who are enthusiasts and who are absolutely sincere. Most of the opponents of the Government are old men, above the age of 70 years. The Bolsheviki have a sublime faith in the people, and I think they have a deep love for the people. One of them told me that he had more joy in three months under Bolshevist rule than fifty other men could possibly have in an ordinary lifetime.

Mr. Williams also informed the Senate that he had seen no slaughters, though he admitted that some 45,000 people may have been killed in Russia up to the time he left. As to the tales of anarchy and looting, it was understandable, he intimated, that great numbers of those who had suffered in the war and under the old régime "do not now look with any "great affection on those they consider "as having been among the supporters " of their life-long oppressors." With regard to starvation, the blame for this, he declared, should fall on the Allies, who have cut off from European Russia the food supply of the great Siberian granaries. Trotzky, said Mr. Williams, was an honest, incorruptible man.

In concluding his testimony on Feb. 24 before the committee Mr. Williams admitted that all the witnesses who had

testified previously regarding conditions in Russia, and whose evidence conflicted with his, had left Russia from five to seven months subsequent to his own departure.

Mr. Williams said that the "freelove" policy had been adopted only by isolated Soviets, and that the Central Bolshevist Government would not tolerate such "nationalization" of women.

"Is it your contention," asked Major Humes, "that in Russia at this time each Soviet, and you say there are thousands of them, is in its own sphere of jurisdiction supreme, and that each can make such laws as it sees fit without regard to any of the other governing authorities?"

"No, that is not the case. I admit that there have been disagreements between the Soviets, but that was inevitable in a crisis such as Russia has been passing through."

"Well, then, has the Central Soviet, as you call it, become a strong centralized Government—in other words, a dictatorship?"

"That can be answered yes or no, categorically. I believe the Soviet is the form of government that the Russian in his heart most desires. Even Lloyd George has said it may be ruthless, but he also says 'you have to admit that it is efficient.'"

Mr. Williams concluded his testimony by estimating that about 100,000 former residents of the United States are now in Russia, and that probably 25,000 of these hold public office of some sort. Discussing, lastly, the subject of graft, he declared that 40 per cent. of men executed in Moscow were former Bolshevist officials who had been convicted of this offense.

MISS BEATTY'S TESTIMONY

The Senate Committee continued its hearings on March 5 with an examination of Miss Bessie Beatty, a member of the family of which Admiral Sir David Beatty is the most famous member. Miss Beatty, who was called at the request of Bolshevist apologists in this country and who gave her occupation as editor of McCall's Magazine, admitted frankly that she had no first-hand knowledge of conditions in Russia at the present time.

In answer to questions by Major Humes, Miss Beatty said that she was in Russia from June, 1917, until the latter part of January, 1918. She had visited Petrograd, Moscow, and other cities; she had known Trotzky and Lenine personally, and for about two weeks she had barracked with the Russian Women's Regiment that was known as the Battalion of Death. Miss Beatty stated that she did not believe that the Soviet Government had attempted to nationalize women. She had been at the Smolny Institute, she said, when the marriage decree was debated; by this decree couples who wished to be married went before the Marriage Commission: a divorce could be obtained by merely appearing before this commission and announcing that the marriage relation was no longer desired.

She disclaimed any intention to defend Bolshevism, but said that she thought that the Russians should be allowed to work out their problems without outside interference. Senator Nelson asked her what exactly the Bolsheviki were attempting to do.

"Their program," she said, "is for the socialization of land and industry and the promotion of peace. That is their plan in a nutshell. Their idea is to take the earning power out of money. Money they consider stored capital. In other words, in Russia the rule is that a person cannot use his money to make more money. He can spend it any way he wants, but he can't put it to earn more money. For instance, he cannot loan it out at interest."

"That is, if a man has a friend who needs money to equip his farm that man

cannot loan his friend the money needed for that legitimate purpose?"

"No, as I understand it, he cannot loan the money to him. The plan in Russia is to bring everybody to the same level. That is, lower the upper 10 per cent. and raise the lower 90 per cent. of the population."

Another witness called was Frank Keadie, a London tea expert, who went to Russia in 1916 and left there in October, 1918. He was the most outspoken defender of the Lenine-Trotzky régime who had yet appeared before the committee. He had been in Petrograd and Moscow in January and February, 1918, and after that in Omsk; he had also visited some forty villages, and considered himself qualified to express the viewpoint of the peasant farmers. The agricultural policy of the Bolsheviki, he stated, was, in his opinion, a success. The witness denounced the Allies for sending troops to Russia, and continued as follows:

I regard Russia as the one creative experiment that has developed out of this war. They are trying to create a new social order. It is an experiment and may fail, but let us get the truth. The Allies have made a steel ring around the Bolsheviki with the Czechoslovaks, the Americans, the British, the Japanese, and the French. * * * The Russian people should be permitted to settle their own affairs. America has a Monroe Doctrine and why should not Russia also have a Monroe Doctrine against the intervention of outsiders in her affairs?

The evidence of Colonel Raymond Robins, who was the next to testify, follows under a separate heading.

Evidence of Colonel Raymond Robins

COLONEL RAYMOND ROBINS, who
was head of the American Red
Cross Mission sent to Russia immediately after the overthrow of the
Czar, and who remained in Russia in
that capacity until June, 1918, appeared
before the Senate Committee on March
6. Every pro-Bolshevist witness who
had come before the committee had
asked that Colonel Robins be called to
tell the truth, as they said, about conditions in Russia under Trotzky and

Lenine. These witnesses had pictured Colonel Robins as a defender of the Bolsheviki and as the one man in all America who was absolutely trusted by Lenine and the other leaders of the Soviet Government.

Colonel Robins did say some kind words for the Bolsheviki, but he denounced the movement as a menace to the whole world, and said that any man who agitated for the overthrow of the Government of the United States should be arrested, tried, and jailed. Lenine himself had told him, Colonel Robins said, that one of the ambitions of the Bolsheviki was the overthrow of the American form of government and the substitution for it of the rule of the proletariat along lines such as prevail in Russia.

A large part of the evidence given by Colonel Robins took the form of a narrative of his personal experiences and activities in Russia after the March (1917) revolution. Assigned to take charge of food supply and the caring for refugees, Colonel Robins came into personal contact with Kerensky, General Korniloff, and, later, Lenine and Trotzky. Under Kerensky extensive plans to solve the food question were made. A banker and shipowner of peasant origin named Battalin was to have been appointed by Kerensky to work with an American assistant, in conjunction with Mr. Hoover, but Battalin was never appointed, and the whole project fell through. the slaying of Korniloff, said Colonel Robins, Kerensky had absolutely nothing to do. As to the rise of the Bolsheviki, the witness stated that the army was deliberately disorganized by two groups of agitators, one of German origin, the other composed of the Bolsheviki. Another cause of disintegration, thought the witness, was the unexpected effect of the allied propaganda. Exaggerated statements of accomplishment made the soldiers say, "If things are going so well, we will go home."

To combat this evil effect of the allied propaganda Colonel Robins worked shoulder to shoulder with his commanding officer in Russia, Colonel William B. Thompson, who contributed \$1,000,000 out of his own pocket to send literature into the peasant villages, drilling home the German peril and the truth of America's friendship for the Russian people in their hour of need.

Eight hundred Russian propagandists for this work were taken on. More money being needed, an appeal was sent to the Washington Government; its reply was to turn the matter over to the Committee on Public Information, which sent Edgar Sisson to Russia for investigation. Regarding the much-disputed Sisson documents, Colonel Robins declined to commit himself at the present time.

RELATIONS WITH LENINE

All efforts made by Colonel Robins and Colonel Thompson, in conference with the allied representatives, to bridge the differences between the Kerensky Government and the Soviet having proved unavailing, the Bolsheviki gained control. Undeterred by previous speeches he had made denouncing Bolshevism, Colonel Robins went to see Trotzky to find out what he could do to aid the Allies and to protect the supplies at hand. He told Trotzky frankly, he stated, that he was opposed to his program as far as he knew it, and that he came to see him only because he was in power; he then exposed the object of his visit, with the result that the food supplies in question went through to their destination intact. The witness continued:

I saw Lenine several times during this Trotzky and Lenine both adperiod. mitted that their program was worldwide, and that some day they expected to gain control of America. However, Russia was in a bad way for economic leadership and they were willing to let us help. They told me if the United States would send these economic experts to help out that we, the United States, would get ahead of Germany, and in the meantime they added, "We will be able to feed Bread was the only thing they Russia." feared. (There was Germany with economic mind, there was Mirbach head of their economic machine, and the United States was the only nation then in a position to frustrate the German plans. Trotzky said to me:

"You are interested in Russia not shipping raw materials into Germany."

" Yes."

"Well, then," he replied, "you can use your allied office to enforce the embargo which is still in effect against Germany."

I told him I did not understand him, I was suspicious. He replied that Russia, needed manufactured materials and we alone could supply them. It was purely a selfish proposition on his part and to get what he needed he was willing to concede control of the embargo.

"Germany," Trotzky continued, "is going to have a conference with us at Brest-Litovsk. We shall prolong that conference and use the time to stir up trouble in Germany and thereby force a peace of no indemnities and no annexations. And after we finish with Germany and the strength of th

many we will stir up England and France and then America, and compel them, too, to come into the conference and talk peace with us. I shall never sign anything but a democratic peace," Trotzky added.

And, as a matter of fact, Trotzky never did sign the Brest-Litovsk treaty. At that time I thought I understood this extraordinary young Jew. 38 years old, highly educated, and the greatest stump speaker in all Russia. But he has the weakness of the prima donna. In hours of success he is elated and defiant and in hours of defeat depressed and moody.

I have never seen such extreme ego and arrogance as is the case with Trotzky. I knew that he would prolong that conference as long as he possibly could because it afforded the greatest opportunity his ego had ever known. He knew that so long as it lasted he would be the centre of the world's attention. Trotzky said to me that he knew that Germany could never make a democratic peace, for such a peace, he said, could mean but one thing, and that was the end of the militarist class.

LOSS OF RUSSIAN GUNS

A proposition made by Trotzky to enlist the aid of the American Railway Commission at Nagasaki to get the Russian guns away from the front over the Trans - Siberian Railway ultimately failed, and these guns fell into the hands of the Germans.

After the gun incident, [said the witness,1 there came a time when it was believed that any association with the Bolsheviki was wrong and an order came from the Government telling me to cease dealing with them. I showed the order to Ambassador Francis and he disapproved it and told me to continue, and I did, and until I left Russia I was the unofficial medium through whom Mr. Francis had his communications with the Soviet Government. On one occasion I may state that Ambassador Francis instructed me to inform the Bolsheviki what measures he would recommend in the event of hostilities.

Colonel Robins also told of the mission to Russia of R. H. Bruce-Lockhart, who was sent by Lloyd George to see and consult with Colonel Robins about the situation there. Lockhart, Dr. Harold Williams, the newspaper correspondent, and Mr. Stephens, head of the National City Bank Branch in Petrograd, all came to view the conditions with Colonel Robins's eyes. The witness told of a proposition that he and Bruce-Lockhart had submitted to Lenine to get Russia back into the war. He said:

This was in March, 1918, before the ratification of the Brest-Litovsk treaty, when I told Lenine that the Allies might consider aiding the Soviet in return for a repudiation of the treaty and for active co-operation in a military way against Germany. I asked him to postpone the meeting of the all-Russian Soviet until the Ambassadors of the Allies could communicate the proposition to their Governments, and, as a matter of fact, the meeting was postponed for two days. Lenine came to Moscow and informed me that the Allies had refused to sanction the proposition

With the ratification of the treaty my relationship with the Soviet changed. I realized then that we could not recognize them even as a de facto Government. But we continued to do what we could to save the situation even at that late day. I worked constantly under the direction of Mr. Francis, and finally I was asked to transmit a request through Mr. Francis asking permission for a Russian economic mission to visit the United States. So far as I know the request transmitted by the Ambassador was not

even answered.

REPUDIATION OF DEBTS

Colonel Robins said that when the Bolsheviki issued the decree repudiating the Russian national debt he went to Trotzky and denounced the act, which was directed not so much against the United States and Great Britain as against France. Lenine said it was issued because of the refusal of the Allies to co-operate with the Bolsheviki. The Bolsheviki would probably have been willing to make an arrangement for settling with England and America, but were bitter against France, arguing that "French loans had for forty years kept Russian autocracy in power."

Colonel Robins told how Elihu Root, head of the Russian Mission, had been stabbed in the back by editorials written in this country and translated into Russian by German agents-editorials which pictured Mr. Root as "the jackal of Wall Street," the tool of interests, and thoroughly against the people in every These editorials, written originally by a man perhaps the most gifted in his particular line in the world, combined with cartoons conveying the same idea, impressed the poor Russian deeply, with the inevitable result. Similar distorted views of America, he said, were disseminated by the return to Russia of agitators from this country, some Gentiles, others Jews. But neither Lenine nor Trotzky, in his opinion, had ever been "conscious German agents." An Under Secretary of Foreign Affairs ramed Zolkan, proved to be pro-German and anti-American, had been dismissed by Lenine. When the Germans menaced Petrograd, furthermore, \$180,000,000 in gold and specie had been sent to South Russia for safety and had been captured by the Czechoslovaks. Nevertheless, Colonel Robins denounced Bolshevism as "the greatest menace now facing the world."

In his concluding testimony, given on March 7, though referring to Bolshevism as "the beast," the witness maintained that the Russians should be left to settle the thing their own way. He opposed allied intervention. At times Colonel Robins defended the Bolsheviki to the extent of expressing a disbelief in the stories of atrocities told by other witnesses, some of them Federal officers who left Russia months subsequent to Colonel Robins's departure.

At one point Colonel Robins denounced atrocities which he believed had been committed by the Czechoslovaks. He said that these troops had captured villages and then lined the people up against the wall and shot them down in cold blood, without even the formality of trial. When Senator Nelson asked Colonel Robins what the nature of his "mission" in this country was at the present time, Colonel Robins indignantly denied that he was engaged in any support of any kind for Bolshevism here or elsewhere.

PEASANTS AND LAND

Testifying as to the contentment of the Russian peasant class under Soviet rule, the witness said it was only reasonable to suppose, since the peasants for the first time enjoyed the fruits of the land without having to pay rent, that they would defend the Soviet which had given them that land. He scouted the suggestion that the Bolsheviki represented a centralized oligarchy, explaining that every decree must be ratified by the All-Russian Soviet and the Executive Committee, the last named the body that elects the Commissaires. As to the charge that Lenine and Trotzky represented a dictatorship, he said:

In a talk I had with Lenine I remarked that many considered him a dictator who was retaining control by force. He replied that under existing conditions it was necessary to use force to an extent. and added that he was a dictator for the reason, as he put it, "that I have behind me the mass will of the people." moment he lost that support. Lenine said, he realized his power would be gone. When the people cease to support Lenine and Trotzky they will be driven from power. The theory of the Soviet Government is that every three months the All-Russian Soviet must meet and pass on the decrees of the Commissaires. So if a majority against Lenine and Trotzky should be in the All-Russian Soviet that majority would elect other leaders. This is one way to change the Government. The other way is by force, and there are 12,000,000 rifles in Russia and machine

Asked if he had been into the Russian villages and seen these rifles and machine guns, he replied that there had been rifles in towns that he had visited, but that he knew that counter-revolts had been repelled by the local populations, and not by rifles sent from Petrograd and Moscow. He had no knowledge of the truth of the report that many Russians would have joined the forces of the Czechoslovaks if they had had guns and ammunition. The witness made it clear that he believed neither in recognition of the Soviet Government nor in intervention, but that he thought the actual conditions under the Bolshevist régime should be thoroughly investigated by a special commission. It was necessary, he said, first to know the disease before seeking to apply the cure. Intervention had strengthened Bolshevism in Russia. He was opposed to the use of troops based upon a false judgment of the facts.

BOLSHEVISM A DISEASE

Questioned about the allegations of treacherous attacks upon the Czechoslovaks by the Bolsheviki, he replied:

I refuse now and for all time to be placed in the position of defending mur-

der, violence, or the commission of other atrocious acts. Here in America I have found a bitter resentment against the revolutionary Government in Russia, a resentment much more bitter than was that entertained here against Black Mondays under the Czar. I find the atrocities of the Bolsheviki denounced more bitterly than are the atrocities that were committed by the Czechoslovaks when they took whole villages and stood the people up and shot them down without trial. This form of resentment won't answer the challenge of Bolshevism.

Asked again if he considered Bolshevism a menace to the whole world, he reiterated his belief as follows:

The menace of the age. The question of recognition does not rest on the character of a Government. Whether or not it is the Government of a people is the only question for a foreign Government to decide. I am opposed to blinding ourselves as to actual conditions in Russia. My whole contention is that we are dealing with a disease, and that we should try and find out what the disease is.

RUSSIAN WITNESS HEARD

Colonel Robins was followed by Gregory A. Martiushin, who was Vice President of the first All-Russian Soviet and is now in this country as a commercial representative of the anti-Bolshevist Government of Northern Russia. He left Russia six months after Colonel Robins did. In practically every instance he differed with Colonel Robins as to the state of affairs in Russia, and declared that far from supporting Bolshevism the great mass of peasant Russia was sick and tired of Bolshevism and praying for its downfall and the institution of a patterned constitutional Government after the Government of this country.

Mr. Martiushin had left Russia on Nov. 2, 1918. In answer to questions by Senator Nelson, he said that he was the son of a peasant and the grandson of a serf. In the first All-Russian Soviet, of which he was the Vice President, he was delegate of the peasants of the Province of Kazan. Under the Czar he was twice exiled, on each occasion for a period of five years. At the time of the Bolshevist revolution he was an executive officer of the Central Committee of the Cooperative Organizations of Russia. There are, or were, he said, 45,000 of these cooperative societies with a total peasant

membership of about 20,000,000. Mr. Martiushin also participated in the Archangel revolt, which overthrew the Bolsheviki and established the anti-Bolshevist Government of Northern Russia.

In answer to questions as to the atrocities committed by the Bolsheviki, Mr. Martiushin said it was impossible to give the number of persons who had been murdered. He named many of his friends who had been killed, and gave the places where they were killed and the dates. One of the men starved to death was Repin, the famous artist. No man could give a true picture of the horror and terrorism that had cursed Russia during the last eight months.

PEASANTS ANTI-BOLSHEVIST

Practically the entire membership of the co-operative societies, he said, was anti-Bolshevist and pro-ally, and the organization was being persecuted in every way possible by the Bolsheviki. The great majority of the peasants were now against the Bolsheviki. So bitter were they that they were retaliating by planting small crops and refusing except under compulsion to deliver supplies of any kind to the Bolsheviki.

In the Moscow district only 3 per cent. of the industries were being operated when Mr. Martiushin left, and these were not running at full capacity. Shipping on the Volga, Oka, and other rivers was a thing of the past.

Dora Kaplan, the woman who attempted to assassinate Lenine, was subjected to a new form of torture before she was executed. By order of the Bolsheviki her guards were instructed not to permit her to sleep. For days she was kept awake, and then was executed without trial of any sort.

Mr. Martiushin said that the official Bolshevist reports indicated the extent of the executions taking place in Russia. In one province in one month these reports admit the execution of 800 people out of 6,200 who were arrested. In another report it is stated that 620 out of 1,500 arrested were executed. In Jaroslav for July the reports admit the execution of 300 men, and in Perm for the same month of fifty members of the

bourgeois class. Mr. Martiushin corroborated the testimony of Roger Simmons of the American Embassy in every detail regarding the forcible control of rural Soviets.

"I am a Slav," said the witness. "Most of my life I have been in Russia, and I think I know my country perhaps better than some people who go there and remain only a few months."

ANSWERS COLONEL ROBINS

Colonel Vladimir S. Hurban, Military Attaché of the Czechoslovak Legation, issued a statement in answer to Colonel Robins's charges against the Czechoslovak forces in Russia. The statement says in part:

Colonel Robins stated: "The Soviet Government granted free passage to the Czechoslovaks through Archangel and Murmansk, not through Siberia." is incorrect. The Czechoslovak National Council, of which I was a member at that time, made an agreement with the Soviet Government on March 26, 1918, guaranteeing the passage of our army through Siberia. We desired to prove our neutrality in the civil war and our loyalty to the Soviet as the de facto Government by disarming, and we disarmed. This circumstance is the best proof of our loyalty. Archangel could not be considered because the port was frozen, and the northern regions could not feed an army of 60,000 men.

Concerning Colonel Robins's remark that "every one is telling of how the Bolsheviki are terrorizing and shooting people, but nobody says anything about the terror caused by the Czechoslovaks in shooting the Bolsheviki," Colonel Hurban said:

With all firmness I reject this general accusation, and I reject the comparison with Bolshevist tactics. The Bolsheviki admit terror officially as a weapon against their adversaries. We disclaim any terror. Colonel Robins must know that thousands and thousands of Red

Guards had been captured and disarmed by us, but were not punished or interned in camps, but released to go home. Germans and Magyars in the Red Army were not considered by us as fighters for Russian Soviets, but as our old enemies.

It would be naïve and academic if I were absolutely to deny that some of our soldiers in different places did unlawful things. No army chief can deny this of his army. Put everything was done by our command and our volunteer soldiers themselves to avoid or diminish and punish such cases.

In a letter to The New York Times of March 10, 1919, Mme, Catherine Breshkovsky denied the truth of the assertions made by Colonel Robins concerning the Czechoslovaks in Russia and their methods against the Bolsheviki. Colonel Robins in his testimony had referred to Czechoslovak "atrocities," citing among others the lining-up of inhabitants of villages and relentlessly shooting them down. Mme. Breshkovsky, on the contrary, after recounting in detail the circumstances leading to the march of the Czechoslovaks across Siberia, which she had witnessed, declared that they had been hailed as deliverers by all and "esteemed as brave warriors, most perfect gentlemen, and splendid citizens." They were admired especially for their humanity, their sense of honor. She had never, she declared, heard a complaint against them, never a derogatory re-"All intelligent Russians are proud to have them as brothers," said Mme. Breshkovsky, adding in conclusion: "If a man, called as a witness, can insinuate about and slander a whole people and a whole army, known well to all the Russian people as the model of honor and humanity, what credit can be given to all the assertions made by him at second hand, or even, as he says, from his personal knowledge?"

Testimony of Ambassador Francis

DAVID R. FRANCIS, the American Ambassador to Russia, told the story of Russian Bolshevism to the Senate committee on March 8. He was in the witness chair all day and corroborated in every essential detail the narratives of other witnesses who had told about terrorism, murder, rapine, and outlawry in Russia under Lenine and Trotzky.

Ambassador Francis said that he had been in Russia from April, 1916, until the first part of January, 1918, when, because of failing health, he went to London, where he underwent a major operation. It was apparent that he had not entirely recovered from the effects of his illness.

After a brief account of his arrival in Russia and his first meeting with Foreign Minister Sazonoff and the imperial family, Ambassador Francis said:

I had been in Russia but a short time when I saw that Germany enjoyed such a firm foothold in that country that, had war been declared five years later than was the case, it would have been impossible to dislodge the German grip on the empire. There were German spies in every part of Russia, both official and industrial Russia. The Grand Duke Nicholas has stated that German spies were so thick at his headquarters that it was almost impossible to keep his orders in loyal hands.

At the outbreak of the war Germany was in control of the chemical industry; she had two great banks under her domination. The glass, electric, and the sugar industries, and many others, were absolutely in German control. Her business spies were everywhere, in positions of great responsibility. We can understand the extent of German control when I tell you that of 1,500,000 enemy prisoners in Russia, not more than 250,000 were Germans, while of interned aliens, that is, business and professional men and the like, of the 300,000 interned more than 250,000 were Germans. May I add that practically all of the business that Russia had with America had also been conducted through German agents?

I found in Russia that this state of affairs was everywhere, and it continued to exist even after Russia went to war with Germany. The conditions were most deplorable and in consequence I was pleased when the first revolution took

place, and the Czar abdicated, and the Provisional Government came into power.

AFTER TWO REVOLUTIONS

On March 22, 1917, the State Department recognized the new Provisional Govrnment. Ambassador Francis established close official and personal relations with the Government, and these relations were maintained during the eight months that followed. Narrating the subsequent course of events, he said:

Then, in November, came the collapse of the Kerensky régime and the installation of the so-called Bolshevist Government. I did not establish relations with that Government. As a matter of fact, I have never had any relations whatever with it, and have always recommended against the extending of any recognition to it. The old Provisional Government had called an election for a Constituent Assembly, which was held, and the Assembly was to have convened Nov. 27, 1917. When Lenine and Trotzky gained control they postponed the meeting until December. When this was done all the Ministers of the old Government, with the exception of Kerensky and Milukoff, who had escaped, were prisoners in the Fortress of Peter and Paul.

To revert for a moment to the régime of Kerensky and Milukoff. The first act of that Government had been to issue what was known as General Order No. 1. That order demoted all army officers to the rank of enlisted men, and authorized the soldiers to elect by vote the new officers to command them. Gutchkoff, who was the first Minister of War in the Provisional Government, had informed me that this order was issued without his knowledges or consent. The result so far as discipline is concerned can be imagined.

Now, Kerensky had been very popular. As Minister of Justice he had stated that no man could be punished without first having a fair trial, and, very deservedly, this greatly increased his popularity at first. Nothing like this had ever been said in Russia for more than a century.

Soon the Bolsheviki began to show their heads. I went to Milukoff and told him that demonstrations against the Provisional Government should not be permitted. There had arisen a difference between Milukoff and Kerensky.

KERENSKY'S MISTAKE

Asked as to the reason for this dissension, Mr. Francis replied:

Milukoff was the leader of the Cadet Party, which we would call Conservative Democrats. Kerensky was the leader of the Socialists. Milukoff had made public the text of a treaty by which England, France, and Italy had agreed that, in the peace terms, Constantinople and the Dardanelles should go to Russia. Kerensky took issue with Milukoff regarding this treaty and argued that Russia did not wish to observe such treaties and that the Dardanelles should be free to all nations. Milukoff took the opposite stand, and, in the end, he resigned and Terestchenko became Minister of Two weeks later I Foreign Affairs. heard that Gutchkoff had resigned as Minister of War, and I tried to find him in order to inform him that in my opinion he was doing a cowardly thing in leaving his post at that time.

But I failed to find Gutchkoff, and the next day Kerensky was named Minister of War, and one of his first acts was the mistaken order that abolished capital punishment, which order almost completed the demoralization of the Russian Armies.

July 3 and 4, 1917, came, and then occurred the first attempt of the Bolsheviki to overthrow the Provisional Government.

Then it was that Kerensky made his great mistake, which was his failure to arrest and imprison Trotzky and Lenine, and promptly put them on trial for treason. Lenine, who is the brains of this group, is a fanatic and is the most intelligent man in his crowd. Trotzky is not so able as Lenine but he is a great orator. He is not so sincere as Lenine, and, in my opinion, is just an adventurer. He probably has greater executive ability than Lenine.

BOLSHEVISTS IN POWER

At any rate they were not arrested and they went into hiding and did not reappear until Nov. 7, 1917. A Bolshevist outbreak, which had been promised for Nov. 2, did not materialize. I was in the Foreign Office on Nov. 7 and I asked Terestchenko to whom the soldiers I saw outside adhered. He replied that they were the soldiers of the Provisional Government. We talked of the revolt scheduled for that day, and I asked him if he thought the Provisional Government could suppress it. He answered in the affirmative and I said that if that was true I hoped the revolt would come off on scheduled time. What really happened is history now.

So the Bolsheviki came into power and I want to say that there is as much difference between that Government and the Provisional Government as there was between the Provisional Government and that of the Czar.

When asked whether the Provisional Government had tried as vigorously as it could to be loyal to the cause of the Allies, Mr. Francis answered as follows:

I think it did. I remember that on one occasion the Ambassadors of Great Britain, France, and Italy called on Kerensky and told him that they did not think he was prosecuting the war with enough vigor. Kerensky called on me and thanked me for not being of the party. However, whatever Kerensky may have thought, the fact remains that the Bolsheviki were steadily undermining his Government, and they (the Bolsheviki) were assisted by the monarchists These monarchists were of Russia. against the Provisional Government, and thought that if the Bolsheviki came in their stay would be limited and the old régime would be restored. These men of the old Russian Provisional Government. I want to say in the record, were patriots and loyal to the best interests of their country. Gentlemen, in discussing Russia you must keep in mind that 90 per cent, of the Russians are uneducated and the other 10 per cent. are overeducated.

LENINE A GERMAN AGENT

And now at this point I wish to state that I believe that Lenine was a German agent from the very beginning. Germany would never have permitted him to return to Russia, through German territory, had the case been otherwise.

Lenine came out of Germany into Russia liberally supplied with money which he distributed liberally where it would, in his opinion, do the best work. He was a German agent, in my opinion, although while acting as such he was also working to foment a worldwide social revolution. He would have taken American or British money just as willingly as he did German money. Lenine has stated that he is trying an experiment on the Russian people.

Some months ago, when the power of Lenine and Trotzky showed signs of tottering, the reign of terror was instituted by the Bolsheviki, and that reign of terror now prevails throughout Russia.

Mr. Francis then told of the signing of the Brest-Litovsk treaty, the utter collapse of Russia's armies and the removal of the allied diplomatic missions to Vologda. Senator Nelson asked about the Constituent Assembly called by the Kerensky Government. Mr. Francis rereplied:

The day before it was to meet, all the Cadet members were arrested as counterrevolutionists. Then Trotzky and Lenine announced that those not arrested would not be permitted to assemble and postponed the meeting until the latter part of January, 1918. Trotzky and Lenine further announced that the assembly would not be permitted to meet if it had less than 400 members. The number that assembled was 423, and of these, only 140 were Bolsheviki. When the assembly met, soldiers, that is, Red Guards, were on the inside and outside. Late in the night drunken Kronstadt sailors entered and ordered the members of the assembly to leave. The guards were in the aisles and at the doors, and they left. The next morning, when the delegates appeared, the building had been seized by the Bolsheviki, the doors were closed, and so came to an end the first and only elected Constituent Assembly Russia has known since the abdication of the Czar.

Responding to a question as to whether there had been any effort on the part of the Bolsheviki to call a general election for an assemby since that time, Mr. Francis replied in the negative. He continued:

A basic principle of the Bolshevist Government is that no man or woman—they have woman suffrage in Russia—can vote who employs another human being. You can see what that means in an election, provided one is held. There has been no election of any kind since that first Constituent Assembly, and this despite the fact that, in my opinion, Lenine and Trotzky do not represent more than 10 per cent. of the 180,000,000 people of Russia.

Lenine and Trotzky are in power as usurpers. I have stated that, in my opinion, Lenine is a German agent, and subsequent events confirmed this opinion.

Lenine, added Mr. Francis, was, in his belief, provided with funds by Germany. Regarding the land decrees, he said that after the Brest-Litovsk treaty the army went home with a promise of land, bread, and peace. Then came the division of the land.

ACTIVITIES OF RADEK

Mr. Francis related his own experiences at this stage as follows:

Now, to go back to Vologda. I remained there until July 25, after Mirbach, the German Ambassador, was assassinated. After he was killed I received a telegram from the Bolshevist Foreign Office, in Moscow, inviting the allied embassies to come to that city. The Foreign Minister said in the telegram, "I am sending Radek to execute the invitation." The telegram was in

English and the word "execute" was used as quoted. The telegram further stated that the Bolsheviki did not consider that we were safe in Vologda. I replied, declining the invitation and explaining that we felt quite safe where we were. I had hoped to save myself from a visit of this fellow Radek, who is the same Radek who is now propagandizing Germany.

However, Radek appeared the following morning. There was a meeting of the Ambassadors in progress at my quarters when he arrived. I suggested that all of us meet him, but I was the dean and they voted that, because of my seniority, the honor should be mine, and so it was. I met Radek in my reception room and talked with him for an hour. Radek when he came was accompanied by a person named Arthur Ransome, a correspondent for The London Daily News, some of whose articles, I understand, have also appeared in The New York Times. My secretary, Mr. Johnston, was with me.

When Radek stated his mission I informed him that we had decided to decline the invitation to go to Moscow. Then Radek replied that he would place guards around the embassy buildings and would permit no one to enter or leave without passports issued by the Soviet. I replied that this evidently meant that we were to be made prisoners. He answered that the chiefs of the embassies might go in and out of the buildings, but no others.

The Red Guards came the next day. They were a hungry lot, and we decided to feed them, and the result was that they became very accommodating.

On July 23 I received another message from the Bolshevist Foreign Office. "Again we invite you to come to Moscow. Vologda is unsafe," it read.

I took the message to my colleagues and we considered it. I began to fear that it was the intention of Lenine and Trotzky to hold us as hostages. After the conference I wired to the Bolsheviki that we had decided to take their advice and quit Vologda.

THE ARCHANGEL EPISODE

After some delays the Ambassadors and their parties got a train and proceeded to Archangel. Mr. Francis continued:

At this time the anti-Bolshevist revolt was gathering strength in Archangel. We knew it, and so did Moscow. The Bolsheviki had been killing people for several days. At A. M. July 29 we were on the boat and cleared for Kandalaksha. At Murmansk was General Poole of the British Army with a force of British

troops. On our way to Kandalaksha we were informed that General Poole with 2,000 men had cleared that morning for Archangel. Kandalaksha was already in the hands of the anti-Bolsheviki, and on arriving there we received a message demanding to know who we were. We wirelessed back, "Who are you?" and the reply came, "The Provisional Government of Northern Russia."

On Aug. 9 we returned to Archangel. In the meantime the British and French representatives had gone to Murmansk, where they got in communication with the allied Governments. I remained in Archangel until Nov. 6.

Asked if the Government of Northern Russia had invited the Allies to come to its assistance, Mr. Francis replied:

That is the exact truth. I note that you had before you yesterday Mr. Martiushin. He was the Minister of Finance in the Northern Government. I also note that he referred to some trouble with the military authorities. The trouble he had in mind was the kidnapping of the Government, and I rescued it, as he also told That Government was Socialist, and it is the choice of three-fourths of the people in that part of Russia which we call the allied zone. The American troops arrived at Archangel Sept. 4 and the kidnapping occurred the following night. It had evidently been timed so as to create the impression that the act had the sanction of the American Ambassador. and I soon gave them to understand that I did not sanction it at all and would, under no circumstances, approve it. I was very emphatic. * * * The trouble was settled to everybody's satisfaction and the Government came back and is there vet.

When Mr. Francis decided to go to England for an operation the impression was created that the troops would go, too, and the result was a panic in Archangel. He added: "The people knew that if the troops left there could be little doubt as to their fate."

Mr. Francis confirmed a previous statement that he himself and the other Ambassadors looked upon Trotzky and Lenine as usurpers. He said:

I did not think then, and I do not think now, that they represent more than 10 per cent of the Russian people. They are cent of the Russian people. They are holding the people in submission with terror enforced by the Red Guard. This Red Army is composed in part of Chinamen and Letts and Russians, the latter forced into the service, their wives and children held as hostages to guarantee their loyal service to the Bolsheviki. They pay the soldiers, I am informed,

from 200 to 300 rubles a month, and, speaking of money, they are now printing from 50,000,000 to 100,000,000 paper rubles a day, and I am informed that they no longer attempt to keep an account of the amount issued.

There is famine in Petrograd. When we left there we left the American Embassy in charge of two women and several servants. The last time we heard from them they were starving, and we have since been trying to get food to them.

OPPOSED TO RECOGNITION

Speaking of the Red Cross and Colonel Raymond Robins, Mr. Francis said:

When I left Petrograd Robins went with me to Vologda and stayed there two days, and then went on to Moscow, where he remained until May 14 last. I should state that the relations between Colonel Robins and myself were pleasant, but we did not agree. On one occasion I remember that Robins asked me if I had recommended the recognition of the Bolsheviki. I replied, "I have not, and you know it." I told him that I would not recognize them, and that if the Government ordered me to do so I would comply and resign.

Gentlemen, the Bolsheviki do not merit recognition. They don't even merit recognition to the extent of entering into business relations with them. They have instituted a reign of terror. They are killing everybody who wears a white collar. Several provinces have gone so far as to nationalize their women.

Asked if he knew this absolutely, Mr. Francis replied:

I get my information from the official papers of the Bolsheviki. The Central Soviet has not issued a nationalization of women decree. It has been done by Provincial Governments. But the Central Government has issued a decree making marriage and divorce so easy that a mere notice to that effect is sufficient. There is not even a limit of time as to the duration of marriage.

Questioned as to whether Colonel Robins had ever said that he wanted the Bolsheviki recognized, Mr. Francis answered:

In this way. He thought that if it was done they would present an organized opposition to the enemy. But I always believed that Lenine and Trotzky were German agents. There never was a time when I would have trusted them. Then take Zinovieff, the head of the Soviet of Petrograd. At the All-Russian Soviet which ratified the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk he heard President Wilson's message to the delegates read, and when

he returned to Petrograd from Moscow he made a speech in which he said: "We slapped the President of the United States in the face."

The Government of Northern Russia, said Mr. Francis, was functioning in a proper manner when he left. He added:

It is the Government approved by three-fourths of the people in the allied zone. Here I might point out that the Bolshevik hates the Socialist—II mean the real Socialist—with a hatred much deeper than his hatred for the monarchist, even more than he hates the Allies. To carry cut their purpose the Bolsheviki will resort to any horror. They are not so severe with the monarchists as with others, because the monarchists give them money.

Asked if he had been denounced by the Bolsheviki as a capitalist, Mr. Francis replied:

Yes, and the Government of the United States was denounced as a capitalistic Government. They said we entered the war because German submarines interfered with the sale of supplies to the Allies. That we had to participate in the war at the instance of the New York Stock Exchange in order to find a market for our manufactured products, and so on.

BOLSHEVIKI HATE AMERICA

Lenine and Trotzky, said Mr. Francis, seemed to like America better than France and England, but it was because they hoped and expected that we would recognize them. He continued:

I think that the Bolsheviki are today propagandizing in America. Of course, they hate the United States, and I have seen official copies of many of Trotzky's speeches in which he denounced this country.

All papers opposed to the Bolsheviki have been suppressed. Any paper that publishes a criticism of the Bolsheviki is immediately suppressed.

Regarding the present status of German organizations in Russia, Mr. Francis said:

I think German control of industry has been greater since the beginning of the war than was the case before the war. The German influence is in every line of human endeavor in Russia. I understand the Germans petitioned for postponement of the nationalization of banks in order that they would have an opportunity to buy up a great amount of the stock in those banks.

Mr. Francis then told of Bolshevist and anarchist threats against the American Embassy and said that they seemed to hold him personally responsible for Emma Goldman, Berkman, and Mooney, who had been convicted of crime in America. He said that after the revolution in March, 1917, there was an influx of people from this country into Russia, especially from the east side of New York and the congested centres of other cities, at first in very great num-Some were Gentiles and others were Jews. On one occasion as many as 800 arrived. Mr. Francis cabled the State Department to stop it. Most of them, he said, preached against the United States. They were constant agitators.

Asked if there was a movement put on foot to have him superseded as Ambassador by Thompson or Robins, Mr. Francis replied as follows:

Colonel Robins, I heard, was being quoted as the mouthpiece of America. I had told him he could continue to visit the Bolsheviki. He was recalled May 10. and I saw him in Vologda for a few minutes on his way out. At that time I was informed that he told The Associated Press correspondent, a man named Groves, that if he could get one hour with President Wilson he could persuade the President to recognize Lenine and Trotzky. He said, according to my informants, "I have the goods on my person." It developed afterward that he had, I think, a communication from the Bolshevist Government to our Government, but I cannot learn that he ever delivered it. I heard so much about Robins's statements in Moscow that I issued a statement that no statements were official unless they emanated from me.

I have been consistent and persistent in my attitude of non-recognition. They are against all government. Their decrees call for the disruption of family life. Their policies are such as will lead us back into barbarism.

Reminded that Colonel Robins had said that the Germans did not inspire the Bolshevi t interference with the departure of the Czechoslovaks, Mr. Francis rejoined:

I am certain that he is mistaken. I am sure the Germans did inspire it. The Bolsheviki were guilty of treachery in their dealings with those brave men.

Mr. Francis ended with the statement that there could be no real peace in Europe with the Bolsheviki in control of Russia.

Strasbourg Welcomes the French

Memorable Scenes in the Alsatian Capital When Marshal Foch Entered the City

By EMORY POTTLE

[FIRST LIEUTENANT, UNITED STATES ARMY]

T was Nov. 22, 1918. The early morning was haze and shining mist. The supreme shaft-which is the very upsoaring spirit of Strasbourg-Strasbourg's cathedral spire, marking for miles where lies the city, showed dim and lean and dark. The futtering glory of France's Tricolor, ultimate token, flung from the spire's furthest reach, was but visible-slowly, radiantly, the hour grew Sun broke through the mist, painted the high flag, shot light into a city that waited her magnificent moment. He who loves symbolism could find it abundantly here. Light out of shadow. Morning and sun after night.

Strasbourg was waiting—waiting for the French!

There is but one splendor in war. Out of all the reek and sweat and blood and horror and hell of it there is but one surpassing, tragically beautiful instant. The instant of triumph. Strasbourg awaited the entry of the French. And the French awaited-what did they not await! Struggle ended, victory accomsacrifice consecrated, plished. awaited fulfillment. After fifty bitter years the French were coming back, the conquerors, to their own, to Alsace.

At 9:30, over all the rush and surge and shout of innumerable masses, there rang a high, clear, brazen fanfare. Trumpets at the gate of entry! They're here! The French!

Down the dense expectant lanes of people gone mad with enthusiasm, with joy, with hope come true, they rode, the French, in the fine panoply of victory. Gouraud, the beloved General Gouraud five times wounded, his right arm gone, at their head; Gouraud who became a soldier in his youth because of an Alsace and Lorraine lost; Gouraud who is a beautiful, tattered, consecrated, victori-

ous, worshipped battle-flag of France, Behind him his soldiers—his enfants, he calls them—his Moroccans, his poilus, his rugged old territorials. Faded khaki, faded blue, stained with war and beautiful with triumph. Heads high, eyes shining through tears, faces gentle and kind and childlike. The famous soldiers of France.

PEOPLE'S DEEP EMOTION

Regiment on regiment they come on with the rattle and rumble of artillery, with the almost unbearable crash and cry and flaunt of martial music-" Sambre et Meuse," and over their heads the hum and whir of the airplanes. The human hedges brilliant with banners broke at sight of them. The men and women and children who but a day or two ago had seen with unspeakable relief the sullen, shamed lines of Germans defile through these very streets to cross. God grant forever, their cherished Rhine, threw themselves upon their liberators; arm in arm girls marched on deliriously with the troopers; old women kissed their hands, their cheeks; men with sobs in their throats threw their arms about them as might fathers embrace sons come home. Strasbourg was abloom with flung flowers; the bright morning was a wonderful wind-tossed flag; the world a sudden heart-breaking glory.

The French had come!

No man can write of scenes like these. Words fall idle and empty from the pen. This is a beautiful thing for us who have looked on war to look on triumph. It is a beautiful thing to be a sharer, ever so humbly, in moments such as these. But for us who are not French the soul of the glory must be imagined rather than touched. Even the French themselves falter over descriptions.

They march on, then, the French, to the statue of Kléber in the Place Kléber. Every city has its traditional centre. Strasbourg's is there. A fine free space with a great bronze of Napoleon's General Kléber in its heart, (Kléber was tolerated here by the Germans, who chose, as they so insolently choose with many things, to call him one of them.) and set about with charming buildings, old Alsatian, the grace of Louis Quinze in their wall lines and sharp pitched roofs. Here General Gourand halted. was an instant of rich silence as the soldier raised his sword to the salute. Then cheers, and cheers! It was the shout of floodtide, of seas washing up to immemorial heights. A poem of Browning's-I have forgotten the flow of the lines-comes into my mind as I write. Something of roses all the way and the air a mist of swaving bells. It was like that, Strasbourg. The air was a mist of bells and fine flags, and shouts and tears and smiles and hearts long repressed at last open. Gouraud rode away, but Strasbourg danced when he had gone at the foot of Kléber's statue, and Kléber in martial bronze, wreathed and flowered, seemed to live again and

"I, who am French," said General Gouraud to me a day or two later at his dinner table, "even I did not dream it would be like that when we came in." And as he spoke his eyes, blue and clear and clean, gentle deep eyes that can flash fire, clouded with emotion.

CITY IN GALA GARB

And Strasbourg itself, the city? Strasbourg and its people, its streets, its buildings, its movement, its quality? There are certain cities that appeal like certain people-at once to be taken to one's heart. The unspoiled traveler, as apt to receive his impressions as to keep old memories, knows them on the instant. Strasbourg is such a city. Gracious, charming, flowing easily and suavely over wide level areas; here a square, here a garden, a park, here a space of pleasant water; streets suggestive of other epochs, yet animated and vigorous with today; a city clean and fresh and sound that has still escaped the bour-

geois platitude. Strasbourg en fête. I must confess, gives me a sense of walking in a mediaeval picture book. The fashion of decorations is so tidy, so, as it were. Christmas-like. The pine boughs, the long-looped green garlands, the prim rosettes of tricolor, the strung lanterns. all make, against gray-white walls, a note so harmonious with the staid charms of the houses. As I write I look up to the aged house opposite, to its three windows, iron-grilled, where hang three very neat white placards, blackly lettered and framed in evergreen: "Vive la France, Vive les Alliés, Vive Wilson!" They emblem the neat character of the people.

The streets are walled with flags-French, Alsatian, British, Italian, Belgian, and American. American! and I who are Americans, what is it, then, to see our flag, ours, hundreds of them, tossing in the gay air of these liberated provinces? To see the name of the President of the United States placarded and wreathed in foreign lands, to hear it cheered to the echo! We are all sharers in this. Let us thank God. I have but one great regret in this unbounded week, and that is a regret voiced, too, by the Alsatians and the French. It is the regret that American troops have not been here to take a place in these triumphal entries-so they might have seen what France is to Alsace-Lorraine and what Alsace-Lorraine is to France. And seeing they would have turned homeward overseas to tell to those at home the story of the days when the French came back to their lost provinces. For whatever the profound underlying impulses of these terrible four years have been, it is certain that the retaking of Alsace and Lorraine is a symbol of final accomplishment that appeals richly to the soldier's heart.

But Strasbourg that first day of French entry! It blossomed with its flags. Flags that had lain hidden for years from the brutal German house-to-house visits. Flags that had waved in 1870. Flags that were fashioned yesterday from heaven knows what—sheets, napkins, tablecloths, hastily dyed blue and red overnight. I saw an American flag

with six stripes and a field of five stars in a firmament of bluing. An old Frenchwoman said beautifully that day: "Oh, we hadn't enough cloth to make ourselves chemises, but we found enough to make our flags!"

KLEBER'S OLD FLAG

General Gouraud showed me a faded silk flag which rested in a corner of his room. There was an inscription on its field. It was borne, one read, in 1832 at the removal of General Kléber's dead body from the church to the Place Kléber, where it now rests beneath his monument. Three timid old ladies took it to Gouraud the day of his entry. They put it into his hands very simply.

"It is for you," they said. "Our father gave it to us when he died and made us swear to give it to the French when they should come back to Alsace."

They had hidden it in the depths of a sofa in their house, a sofa on which many a German had unsuspectingly sat. "That is Alsace," said the General to

me, reverently.

For four years it has been forbidden to speak French in Alsace. Not even so Prison for that ofmuch as Bonjour. But five days before the entry French was again spoken. Now the streets are chattering it brokenly. It is in the blood, in the hearts of these peo-The children babble it. Their "Feef la France" is delightful. And the crowd roared with glee. Men and women who have not spoken French for years fumble through their memories for forgotten words. An old man, warped and withered, cried out as we passed: "Feef (vive) les-" he hesitated pain-"Feef les-" Then the word fullycame, "Feef les liberateurs!"

Impressions crowd in faster than the pen can put them down, incoherent impressions, beautiful, solemn, gay—deathless memories. How Strasbourg danced and cheered at every turn. We dined and lunched with unknown hosts, suddenly become friends. We were kissed and hugged by old and young. The dignified streets broke into song. The "Marseillaise!" Everywhere the "Marseillaise." Once they had the tune it was enough. The words seemed to come in-

stinctively. Le jour de gloire est arrivé! Lads chirped it, whistled it. Girls screamed it at top-lung. Old men, old women shouted it piously. The day of glory had arrived at last. There stands in the heart of Strasbourg an old unassuming house that bears a garlanded word of recall to those who passing glance above its door: "La' Marseillaise' fût chantée pour la première fois dans cette maison par Rouget de l'Isle, le 25 Avril, 1792." Small wonder, then, that the immortal air comes familiarly and full from the Strasbourgers' throats in the city where first it was sung.

Qu'un sang impur Abreuve nos sillons.

TYPICAL SCENES

The very shops made festival with windows filled-for want of modern France-with old long-hidden engravings. Louis XIV., Louis XV.; bright chromos of the soldiers of '70 in the historic red breeches; obsolescent arms of other periods; old French volumes, and I know not what else of touching cherished souvenirs-shops.too, that had changed their names overnight and bore broadsides of white hastily lettered cloth to conceal the German shop names underneath. Rathskellers blossomed into cafés de la Marne, de la République. Lodgings ceased to be hofs and were fashionably Hôtels de Paris, and where there was a recalcitrant boche the delighted crowds swooped down upon him, shut his doors, banned his wares and went on, mightily amused, to fresh exploits. I can see them now as I put down the pen-how gay and charming they were, the women in their Alsatian costumes, butterflying, laughing, singing, arms linked to placid grinning poilus, whose note of blue was so harmonious with the gray houses and the bright dresses. All day long they wandered up and down, hand-in-hand with victory-enchanting children.

An old man, supported by two other men of middle age, stood at a corner. He was very old and frail. His hands and his body shook senilely, though from time to time with an effort he tried to straighten himself to a soldier's bearing. For he wore the uniform of a soldier and his breast was covered with un-

familiar medals. The uniform was the blue and red of France and '70; the medals were the medals of old campaigns. I stood beside him a moment and took his hand, "My sons have brought me here today," he said, very simply, "that I may look again on French soldiers, mes frères. Now they may take me home. I am content to die."

The wild, dancing, wonderful day turned into night. Rosy globes of paper lanterns shone in windows. light, rich and smiling, flooded over the charming, sauntering crowds, lit the forests of beautiful flags. And all night long Strasbourg sang the "Marseillaise." Sang it? Was it, so it seemed to me.

Before the place that was once known as the Emperor's stood a bronze statue. The statue of the man who was once William II. of Germany. Quietly, determinedly, placidly, one might almost say, the Strasbourgers gathered there the night that preceded the entry of the French. Five hundred of them tore the image down. It fell with a great They hacked it, batbrazen clang. tered it, sawed it, chopped it to fragments.

The head of the statue is in the Students' Club today-on the floor in a corner. They use it to spit into.

TRIUMPHANT COMMANDERS

This might be a record of triumphal entries; but the first marvel of the 22d will scarcely again be wrought. We have seen Gouraud, glorious, mutilated. We have seen again, the 25th, a Marshal of France, surrounded by Generals whose names will one day be spoken as we have been wont to speak the names of Napoleon's Generals. Perhaps, too, with greater admiration. Pétain came, the great soldier. I've an impression of a pale, strong, kindly face, Pétain's. He and his Generals rode on over the same route that Gouraud had taken, their troops, their bands, gloriously following. Again Strasbourg threw its cap to the skies, wildly cheered its heart out. After he had reviewed the troops the Marshal turned and with an extraordinary simplicity-these men are simple men-embraced his Generals, Castelnau and Gouraud. It was the more touching for

us who knew that Gouraud's mother but two days before had died.

That day, the 25th, there was a Te Deum sung in the Cathedral of Strasbourg. That sentence as it is written has but little significance, I know. How can I put into words what I should like to A Te Deum of victory in the Strasbourg Cathedral. You who know the cathedral—the vast upsweeping spaces. dim and incensed, where stained light slants richly through windows of precious glass-you will need no words.

The great Kléber's sword has been kept piously all these years by Strasbourg-for Kléber was born here.

On the 27th the Commander in Chief of all the allied armies entered the city. I shall speak but little of the panoply and brilliance of that procession. great Marshal accompanied by Generals de Castelnau and Weygand, rode in magnificently. He gave decorations. He reviewed the troops in the centre of the citadel. And Strasbourg was at his feet. It is not of this I wish to tell you. After all that was over, Foch and his Generals rode to the Place Kléber. Troops formed a square about the statue. The band broke into the reckless. splendid "Sambre et Meuse." Then silence -deep silence. The Marshal took off his own sword and received from the hands of one of his Generals the sword of Kléber. He rode alone to the foot of the statue—unsheathed the sword saluted-rode away.

How finely these French keep their sense of décor. History in the making -and so beautifully made. That slim, sad-eyed, triumphant figure on horseback, drawing a shining sword before the triumphant statue-I shall never forget it. No one who saw will forget. The great Foch.

PRESIDENT POINCARE'S VISIT

"Le plébiscite est fait." The President of France on the balcony of the Hôtel de Ville at Strasbourg the 9th of December so began his address. A small, hatless man, mild of face, meekly bearded, pink of cheek, in evening dress, he became abruptly a noble figure. His voice rang out finely, firmly. His eyes gratefully sought the field of faces stretching far beyond the limits of the long, deep Place Broglie. These faces met his with a turmoil of hurrahs. With an inspiration at a moment that deserves well of history, M. Poincaré lucidly, triumphantly, made the phrase that was the keynote of Strasbourg's last fête, the welcome of the Government to the provinces regained.

The popular vote has been taken. Here was the answer to the German contention so long maintained that a popular vote would result in the decision of Alsace and Lorraine to remain under German rule. These exuberant crowds, joyfully unrestrained, yet under the stress of an emotion, profound, religious, I might almost say-one saw it in their eves, in their faces, felt it in their hearts -these people, then, and all through that amazing beautiful day, were, if any people ever were, the pure exemplification of the Wilsonian doctrine that a people has the right to dispose of itself, governmentally, as it shall will.

A Frenchman, who stood beside me in that fine instant when Poincaré clarioned his "Le plébiscite est fait" and Alsace responded, turned to me and in a voice moved and moving said: "Monsieur l'Américain, we have not taken Alsace and Lorraine. They have come to us!"

CLEMENCEAU THE TIGER

The President of France stood bareheaded on the balcony and opened his arms, the arms of France, to the children of his country. Beside him M. Clemenceau, Clemenceau the tiger, a rugged, white-haired, stocky, high-colored old man, whose eyes gleam fire and fun and tears. What an old age for a man to have! At 80, hatless, on a bleak, raw day, to be cried to the skies; the man who brought his country from its wilderness to its Canaan. What amazing moments Destiny, too wont to be perverse, has given to this indomitable old man! It is a fine thing to "go down to the grave with a shout." And behind these two the three Marshals of France and Sir Douglas Haig, and General Pershing, an Italian General, a Belgian, Serbian officers, the men whose armies had made possible this moment.

The hours of Monday went by in a

reel of "Marseillaise" and "Sambre et Meuse" and cheers and tears and all the manifestations given to light hearts and sound, ardent faith. Streams of General-laden motor cars edged through masses of applauding people. Marshals, as a dry old poilu put it to me, were like leaves under one's feet. One fell into a kind of sublimated familiarity with the great and mighty, and were like to clap them on the shoulders in excess of enthusiasm. And then came the culmination of the festivity. Into an immense space set about with grandiose buildings, the citadel, there crowded themselves thousands and thousands: the roofs, the balconies, the windows of these buildings were black with bodies and white with faces and waved handkerchiefs. In a canopied tribune stood the President and Clemenceau, tears in his eyes, (how they shouted "Vive le Tigre!") the Marshals, the Generals. The review of the troops began. Troops on foot, troops mounted, artillery, tanks, each element with its clang and crash of music. (Have you ever heard the scream and whine of the little Moroccan pipes? Next to the Scotch bagpipe, it is the most terrifying, delirious sound I know.) And when the last of the soldiers had passed, the men and women, the boys and girls, of Alsace followed.

No one, I think, who saw those groups pass the President's stand saw it unmoved, and no one having seen it will ever forget. They came, hundreds of young girls, in their national costume, and at the sense of the instant, its elation, its rich significance, coupled with the surge and rhythm of the bands gained on their hearts, their feet refused to march. They danced in garlands, in festoons, in circles, with young, gay, lovely, glowing movements. Their hands were full of flowers, and, laughing, they threw them at the President as they went dancing by. Some of them, bolder than the rest, made their way to the foot of the stand. He took their offered flowers and kissed them on the cheeks. I can see them so clearly now, those young girls dancing down a long curve between thick hedges of black bodies and radiant faces, tossed caps,

waved handkerchiefs—the mothers of tomorrow's France.

Just in front of the stand were massed the Zouaves, in khaki with the red fez, looking through the gray air of the gray threatening day, like a distant field of poppies. One had in one's eves the poppy-red and all the fantastic colors of the skirts, the blue and orange and red skirts, of the rich brocaded aprons, of the great Alsatian bows on the head, pink or green or black (ravens with pretty faces between wide wings) or a blend of many tints. They danced, and the tossing ribbons, the swing of skirts, the sheen of necks and cheeks, made them like flowers, a lovely dancing garden, row upon row of wandering blossoms. Among them were staid old men in remarkable top-hats and youths in white breeches and what I may best describe as coonskin caps, some afoot and some astride prancing horses; pastors and priests and Mayors of villages in red waistcoats and rows of brilliant buttons.

A wild, delirious band of lads cavorted by, their caps blossoming with flowers. They were conscripts freed from becoming part of the next German class. Their banners, their emblems, their devices touched one's heart, all of them souvenirs of France. Here's a group of old men in their regimentals and medals of 1870. The thing was so spontaneous, so simple, so ardent, and so amazingly, for all picturesqueness, so amazingly real. I found myself repeating over and over: "This can't be taught to people; it is in

their blood, in their hearts." An old French General who stood beside and heard the involuntary words smiled and nodded. He could not speak. There was a knot in his throat. His eyes were brimming. We were all caught in the spell of that emotional moment, all of us. For sheer beauty of body and spirit, I have never seen anything so lovely.

The last of them danced away—their headdresses were deep pink, and as they streamed beyond in a long serpentine curve they seemed a river of roses flowing seaward.

LE PLEBISCITE EST FAIT

And just across the river, spanned by the great Kehl Bridge, across the wide, full-breasted Rhine, almost at the st of a stone from us, lay Germany. I crossed that bridge one day to the extreme permitted point, where stood the German sentries, and looked a long time at that land silent and abased. Strange contrast, Strasbourg all flags and fêtes and wonders, Strasbourg freed; and just across the river within sound of our cheering, well-nigh, a nation despised, defeated, dishonored.

A lad of Strasbourg on the day of General Gouraud's entry, so his mother told me, went alone at the end of the great day to the cemetery. He found his grandfather's grave and placed on it a little cherished French flag. Stooping down, he whispered, "Grandpère, ils sont là!

Yes, they are there!

The Filipinos in the War

Francis Burton Harrison, Governor General of the Philippines, speaking at a banquet in New York on Feb. 11, 1919, said of the Filipinos:

"During the war this race of people was intensely and devotedly loyal to the cause of the United States. They raised a division of Filipino volunteers for Federal service; they presented a destroyer and submarine to the American Navy; they greatly oversubscribed their quota in the Liberty loans and gave generously to the aid of the Red Cross and other war work. All of this is a practical demonstration of high ideals of government. * * * The idea of training a tropical people for independence was thought too idealistic and impractical. Quite the contrary was the result. Once again idealism has been shown to be the moving force in working out the destinies of nations. If you can reach the heart of the people you can lift them forward and upward. That is what America has done in the Philippines."

Bombing Germany

General Trenchard's Report of Operations of British Airmen Against German Cities

HE official dispatch of Major Gen. Sir Hugh Trenchard, commander of the Independent Air Force, was made public by the British Air Minister on Jan. 1, 1919. It revealed the enormous scope of the operations against the Rhineland towns in the last weeks of the war. With the creation of the Independent Force, supplementary to the Royal Air Force, the aerial organization of Great Britain had been transformed into a formidable engine, which wrought havoc in the great industrial centres of the Rhine. General Trenchard's dispatch presents, in the form of a vivid narrative, the details of these great aerial adventures.

From October, 1917, when raids were begun, up to June 5, 1918, fifty-seven aerial attacks were made on the Rhineland. Unfavorable weather conditions and the handicap imposed by limited fuel capacity were disregarded. The difficulty and danger of these raids is told by the loss of 109 Independent Force machines. Proper machines for raiding Berlin were not received until October, and preparations for such attack were completed only three days before the signing of the armistice. Had the war lasted a short time longer the German capital would have been bombed.

TEXT OF REPORT

The text of General Trenchard's dispatch is given below:

I have the honor to submit the following report on the work of the Independent Air Force from June 5 to the signing of the armistice on Nov. 11, 1918. I have also mentioned in the earlier part of this report the work done in the attack on Germany by the squadrons from a base southeast of Nancy before the establishment of the Independent Air Force.

In May, 1918, you informed me that you considered it advisable to constitute an Independent Force to undertake the bombing of the industrial centres of Germany. You further intimated to me that you intended to place the whole of the British effort in at-

tacking Germany from the air under my command, and that it would be probable that squadrons would be available to carry out this work from England, as well as from the eastern area of France.

On May 20 I proceeded to the Nancy area, where the 8th Brigade, R. A. F., under the local command of Brig. Gen. C. L. N. Newall, consisting of

No. 55 Squadron, De Hav. 4, 275 h. p. Rolls Royce; No. 99 Squadron, De Hav. 9, 200 h. p. B. H. P.; No. 100 Squadron, F. E. 2b, 160 h. p. Beardmore;

No. 216 Squadron, Handley-Page, 375 h. p. Rolls Royce. was already established under Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig. With the exception of No. 99 Squadron, this force had been in this area since Oct. 11, 1917. I took over from Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig the tactical command of this force on June 5, and the administrative and complete control on June 15.

From Oct. 11, 1917, to June 5, 1918, this small force had, in spite of a very severe Winter, carried out no less than 142 raids. Fifty-seven of these raids were made in Germany, and included night and day attacks on Cologne, Stuttgart, Mannheim, Mainz, and Coblenz. Long-distance raids had also been carried out against Namur, Charleroi, and Liége, in order to help in attacking the enemy's communications to the western front.

It should be remembered that No. 216 Squadron (at that time R. N. A. S.) was hastily formed, and was not equipped until October, 1917. No. 100 Squadron was only equipped with short-distance machines, and No. 99 Squadron only joined in May, 1918. No. 55 Squadron was equipped solely with short-distance machines, which had an air endurance of 31/4 hours only. But the squadron itself rectified this to the best of its ability by adding extra petrol tanks to the machines, which gave them an air endurance of 51/4 hours. The work during last Winter called for exceptional efforts of endurance and perseverance on the part of the commanders, pilots, and observers.

Preparatory work on the construction of aerodromes, with a view to accommodating a larger force, had been undertaken before my arrival, and had been handled with zeal and tact by the General Officer Commanding the 8th Brigad. The work accomplished by General Newall formed a foundation upon which I was at once able to build in making arrangements to accommodate an increased number of squadrons. * * By June 26 the staff for the above-mentioned services had been assembled and organized, and were

capable of maintaining the Independent Air Force.

I take this opportunity of mentioning that the Independent Force was operating throughout in the zone of the group of the French Armies of the East under the command of General de Castelnau, to whom I am indebted for the very valuable assistance which he and his staff gave me, and for advice which helped me over the many difficulties inseparable from an organization of such a kind. In fact, without his assistance it would have been almost impossible to have made an efficient organization. I should also like to mention that the whole of the administrative services were provided by Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig from the British Armies in the field. The British Armies in the north provided me with all the personnel and material that were necessary to maintain and organize and operate the Independent Force, apart from technical airplane supplies.

SCHEME OF ATTACK

My first work was to at once push on and arrange for the accommodation of a force in the neighborhood of sixty squadrons. This was a much larger task than may appear at first sight. The country is throughout hilly and woody, and where there are any level places they consist of deep ridge and furrow, there being as much as three feet six inches between furrow and ridge. The aerodromes had to carry heavy machines and heavy bomb loads; in order to enable this to be done, draining work on a large scale had to be very carefully carried out, and arrangements had to be made for a large installation of electrical power for workshops and lighting and petrol in order to save transport. This work was practically completed by Nov. 1, 1918.

It will be within your recollection that in the past I had referred to the necessity for equipping the British Expeditionary Force on the western front with sufficient aircraft to hold and beat the German aerial forces on the western front; that the bombing of Germany was a luxury till this had been accomplished, but that, once this had been accomplished, it became a necessity. That is to say, it became necessary to attack what I may call the German Army in Germany, and to strike at its most vital point-its sources of supply; and the Independent Force was formed with this object. The question I had to decide was how to use this force in order to achieve the object, i. e., the breakdown of the German Army in Germany, its government, and the crippling of its sources of supply. The two alternative schemes were:

1. A sustained and continuous attack on one large centre after another until each centre was destroyed, and the industrial population largely dispersed to other towns: or

2. To attack as many of the large industrial centres as it was possible to reach with the machines at my disposal.

I decided on the latter plan, for the following reasons:

1. It was not possible, with the forces at my disposal. to do sufficient material damage so as completely to destroy the industrial centres in question.

2. It must be remembered that, even had the force been still larger, it would not have been practical to carry this out unless the war had lasted for at least another four or five years, owing to the limitations imposed on long-range bombing by the weather.

The weather during June, July, and August was extremely favorable for long-distance bombing, but during September, October, and the first ten days of November it could have hardly been worse for this particular work. Day after day attempts were made to try to reach the long-distance targets, but the wind was generally too strong; or, if there was no wind, heavy rain and fog prevailed by day and dense mist by night, which lasted often until 10 or 11 o'clock the next morning. Often the nights were perfect, but dense white mist completely obliterated the ground, making it impossible for machines to ascend. Besides this, there are always a large number of technical difficulties to overcome which still further interfere with the continuity of longrange bombing. By attacking as many centres as could be reached, the moral effect was first of all very much greater, as no town felt safe, and it necessitated continued and thorough defensive measures on the part of the enemy to protect the many different localities over which my force was operating. At present the moral effect of bombing stands undoubtedly to the material effect in a proportion of 20 to 1, and therefore it was necessary to create the greatest moral effect

DAY AND NIGHT SOUADRONS

I also recommended that the proportion of day bombing squadrons in the force should be slightly larger than that of night bombing squadrons, as I considered that, although day bombing squadrons suffer higher casualties than night bombing squadrons, at the same time, if day bombing is excluded, at least four-fifths of the value of night bombing must necessarily be wasted, owing to the fact that the enemy can then make his arrangements to work by day and live at a distance by night, and take many other similar defensive steps. Also, if the bombing had been carried out exclusively by night it would not have caused the enemy to make such a large use of his men and material in defensive measures, and therefore it would not have affected the western front to such an extent as it did. Though night bombing is the safer, many mistakes are made at night in reaching the locality it had been decided to bomb. My intelligence department provided me with the most thorough information on all targets, such as gas factories, airplane factories, engine factories, poison-gas factories, &c., each target having a complete detailed and illustrated plan, and maps were prepared of every target that was within reach. These were supplemented in a large way by the aerial photographs taken by reconnoissance machines.

Before it was possible to attack Germany successfully it was necessary to attack the enemy's aerodromes heavily in order to prevent his attacking our aerodromes by night, and by destroying his machines to render his attacks by day less efficacious. I considered that it was probable during the Spring and early Summer of 1918 that at least half my force would be attacking the enemy's aerodromes, whilst the other half carried out attacks on long-distance targets in Germany. It was also necessary several times during the period the force operated to carry out attacks in conjunction with the armies on the enemy's communications.

I also had to decide, when it was impossible for squadrons to reach their objectives well in the interior of Germany, what alternative objective should be attacked, and which attacks would have the greatest effect in hastening the end of hostilities. 1 decided that railways were first in order of importance, and next in importance the blast furnaces. The reason of my decision was that the Germans were extremely short of rolling stock, and also some of the main railways feeding the German Army in the west passed close to our front, and it was hoped that these communications could be seriously interfered with, and the rolling stock and trains carrying reinforcements or reliefs or munitions destroyed. They were also fairly easy to find at night. I chose blast furnaces for the second alternative targets, as they were also easy to find at night, although it was difficult to do any really serious damage to them owing to the smallness of the vital part of the works.

On my arrival in the Nancy area the 8th Brigade consisted of those squadrons shown above. Additional squadrons arrived on the dates as shown:

No. 104 Squadron, De Hav. 9, B.H.P., May 23.

No. 97 Squadron, Handley-Page, Rolls Royce, Aug. 9.

No. 215 Squadron, Handley-Page, Rolls Royce, Aug. 19.

No. 115 Squadron, Handley-Page, Rolls Royce, Aug. 31.

No. 110 Squadron, De Hav. 10, Liberty, Aug. 31.

Aug. 31.
No. 45 Squadron, Sopwith Camel. Sept. 22.

550 TONS OF BOMBS

It must be remembered that new squadrons could not be used for work over the line until three weeks after their arrival, as during this period they were receiving their final training, which can only be carried out at the front. No. 45 Squadron was intended to attack the enemy's scouts many miles over

the line. It was necessary to re-equip this squadron with longer-range scouts after I received it, but as these machines did not arrive before the armistice was signed the squadron was only used for attacking individual hostile machines which crossed our lines. During August No. 100 Squadron, which was armed with F. E. 2b short-distance machines, commenced re-equipping with Handley-Pages. While it was being re-equipped—which process took nearly the whole month—scarcely any work could be carried out by the squadron. Below are a few interesting figures:

The total weight of bombs dropped between June 6 and Nov. 10 was 550 tons, of which 160 tons were dropped by day and 390 tons by night. Of this amount no less than 2201/4 tons were dropped on aerodromes. This large percentage was due to the necessity of preventing the enemy's bombing machines attacking our aerodromes and in order to destroy large numbers of the enemy's scouts on their aerodromes, as it was impracticable to deal with them on equal terms in the air. I think this large amount of bombing was thoroughly justified when it is taken into consideration that the enemy's attacks on our aerodromes were practically negligible, and not a single machine was destroyed by bombing during the period June 5 to Nov. 11. In addition to this the following objectives were attacked:

Baalon. Lahr. Baden. Lames. The Black Forest, Luxemburg, Bonn. Oberndorf. Cologne, Offenburg. Coblenz, Pforzheim, Darmstadt. Pirmaisens. Duren. Rastatt. Rombas, Dillingen. Frankfurt, Rottwell, Forbach, Sallingen. Saarburg. Hagendingen. Heidelberg, Saarbrucken. Hagenau, Stuttgart, Treves. Kaiserslautern. Karthaus. Weisbaden, Karlsruhe. Worms. Ludwigshafen, Voelkingen. Landau, Wadgassen.

Mainz, Zweibrucken and other Mannheim, miscellaneous targets.

It must also be remembered that of the 109 machines which were missing the majority dropped bombs on targets before landing. The amount of bombs dropped by these machines is not included in the above figures. The longest distances flown out and back were: In June—By day, 272 miles; by night, 240 miles. In July—By day, 272 miles; by night, 300 miles. In August—By day, 330 miles; by night, 342 miles. In September—By day, 320 miles; by night, 320 miles. In October—By day, 320 miles; by night, 272 miles.

A large amount of photographic reconnoissance was done by individual machines

at a great height. This work was nearly always successfully carried out, and only one photographic machine was lost during the whole period of operations. Photographs have proved time and again the efficiency of the work of the bombing machines. Captured correspondence testified to the great moral effect of the bombing attacks on Germany.

VALOR AND DETERMINATION

It was apparent by the end of June that the enemy was increasing the number of fighting machines opposed to us. These machines were presumably being provided from squadrons he had withdrawn from the Russian front and re-equipped for home defense work. In September and October our day bombing squadrons had to fight practically from the front line to their objective and from there home again. In several cases they had to fight the whole way out and the whole way back. This necessitated the most careful keeping of formation in order to avoid undue casualties, as once the formation was split up the enemy's machines could attack individual machines at their leisure. When our machines were in formation he generally concentrated on the rear machines. occasionally making attacks on the machine in front.

I would like to state here that the courage and determination shown by the pilots and observers were magnificent. There were cases in which a squadron lost the greater part of its machines on a raid, but this in no wise damped the other squadrons' keenness to avenge their comrades and to attack the same target again and at once.

It is to this trait in the character of the British pilots that I attribute their success in bombing Germany, as even when a squadron lost the greater part of its machines the pilots, instead of taking it as a defeat for the force, at once turned it into a victory by attacking the same targets again with the utmost determination. They were imbued with the feeling that whatever their casualtie were, if they could help to shorten the war by one day and thus save many casualties to the army on the ground they were only doing their duty. I never saw, even when our losses were heaviest, any wavering in their determination to get well into Germany.

Long-distance bombing work requires the utmost determination, as a change of wind completely upsets all calculations that may have been made before starting. It requires fine judgment on the leader's part to know, if he perseveres to the objective, whether he will have sufficient fuel to carry the formation home again safely. This will be realized when it is pointed out that on several occasions the machines with only five and a quarter hours' petrol were out for that time; in one case a formation was out for five

hours and thirty minutes, and it only just managed to clear the front-line trenches on its homeward journey. A miscalculation of five minutes would have lost the whole formation. Ceiling was of more importance than speed for long-distance day bombing work. It was essential that squadrons should fly as high as possible, and it soon became apparent, as I had already stated, that the two squadrons with the 200 horse power B. H. P. engines had not sufficient power for this long-distance work. One squadron was re-equipped with D. H. 9a machines with Liberty engines in November before the signing of the armistice, and the second squadron had started re-equipping.

PLANS TO BOMB BERLIN

The Twenty-seventh Group was established in England under the command of Colonel R. H. Mulock, D. S. O., for the purpose of bombing Berlin and other centres. This group only received the machines capable of carrying out this work at the end of October, and though all ranks worked day and night in order to get the machines ready for the attack on Berlin they were only completed three days before the signing of the armistice. * * * I would like to bring to your notice the following important raids which show some of the difficulties met with in long-range bombing.

On the night of June 29-30 Handley-Page machines of No. 216 Squadron were ordered to attack the chemical works at Mannheim. Owing to the weather conditions only one machine reached the objective, on which it dropped its bombs. This machine, on the homeward journey, failed to pick up its aerodrome, and landed no less than 160 miles southwest of the aerodrome undamaged.

On July 5 twelve machines of No. 55 Squadron, under the command of Captain F. Williams and Captain D. R. G. Mackay, set out to attack the railway sidings at Coblenz Shortly after starting the squadron passed over thick clouds and steered its course by compass, but the target was obscured by clouds. The leader turned with the intention of at acking Karthaus, but as he turned the anti-aircraft barrage over Coblenz opened. Through a small hole in the clouds he could see a portion of the target, and the formation followed him and released their bombs.

On July 31 No. 99 Squadron, under the command of Captain Taylor, went out to attack Mainz. They encountered forty hostile scouts south of Saarbrucken. Fierce fighting ensued, as a result of which four of our machines were shot down. The remaining five machines of the formation reached Saarbrucken, and dropped their bombs on the station. On their way home they were again attacked by large numbers of hostile scouts, and suffered the loss of three more of their number. Immediately after their return No. 104 Squadron, led by Captain E. A. Mackay and Captain Home-Hay, proceeded to attack the factories and sidings at Saarbrucken,

which they successfully accomplished with no losses.

On Aug. 11 No. 104 Squadron, under the command of Major Quinnel, attacked the station at Karlsruhe, in spite of bad weather conditions, causing a heavy explosion in the station and scoring many direct hits on the railway sidings. In the course of fighting one of our machines was brought down and three of the enemy's machines were driven down out of control.

Frankfurt was attacked for the first time on Aug. 12 by twelve machines of No. 55 Squadron, under the command of Captain B. J. Silly and D. R. G. Mackay. Most of the bombs burst in the town east of the goods station, and all the machines returned safely, with the loss of one observer, who was killed by machine-gun fire. The formation was heavily attacked by forty scouts of various types over Mannheim on its way to the objective and throughout the return journey. Two hostile machines were destroyed and three were driven down. The average time taken by each machine on this raid was 5 hours and 30 minutes, but all machines reached their objective and returned safely, though they only just cleared the trenches on their return journey, running completely out of petrol.

On the night of Aug. 21-22 two Handley-Page machines of No. 216 Squadron, piloted by Captain Halley and Lieutenant Stronach, dropped just over a ton of bombs on Cologne station, causing a very large explosion. The time taken on this raid was seven hours.

AMONG FACTORY CHIMNEYS

On Aug. 22 twelve machines of No. 104 Squadron started on a raid on Mannheim. The formations were led by Captain J. B. Home-Hay and Captain E. A. Mackay. Two machines had to land under control about five miles over the lines after driving away eight hostile machines. Immediately before the objective was reached fifteen hostile machines attacked the formation with great determination and resistance. The formation came down to 6,000 feet in following the leader, who was shot down under control. In the fierce fighting three German machines were destroyed. Despite constant and determined attacks by superior numbers, ten machines dropped bombs on Mannheim, causing seven bursts on a factory, where four fires were caused. A direct hit was also obtained on a large building immediately south of the Badische Anilin Soda Fabrik Works.

On the night of Aug. 25-26 two machines of No. 215 Squadron made their first attack on the Badische Anilin Soda Fabrik Works at Mannheim. The two machines, piloted by Captain Lawson and Lieutenant Purvis, left at 8 o'clock. One pilot shut off his engine at 5,000 feet and glided in on the target from the northwest, following the river. He was at once picked up and held in the beams of the searchlights, and an intense anti-air-

craft barrage was put up. The machine continually changed its course, but could not shake off the searchlights, and the pilot was completely blinded by the glare. At this moment the second machine glided in, with its engine almost stopped, underneath the first machine, got immediately over the works, below the tops of the factory chimneys, and released its bombs right into the works. The searchlights at once turned on to this machine, freeing the first machine from their glare. This machine then turned and made straight for the works as low as the second machine among the chimneys, and released its bombs. The searchlights were turned almost horizontally to the ground, and the anti-aircraft guns were firing right across the works and factories almost horizontally. In spite of this, the two machines remained at a low altitude, and swept the factories, works, guns, and searchlights with machine-gun fire. On the return journey both of these machines passed through rain and thick clouds, while lightning and thunder were prevalent throughout the trip.

On the night of Sept. 2-3 machines of No. 215 Squadron attacked Buhl aerodrome and the railway junction at Ehrang, some of the machines making two trips. In the first attack on Buhl two direct hits were obtained and three fires started, all bursts being observed on and in close proximity to the hangars. The second attack was carried out from 150 feet to 900 feet, machines circling around the aerodrome for fifteen minutes. Excellent shooting was made, and thirteen direct hits were claimed. Three hangars were entirely demolished and a fire started. In addition, motor lorries were bombed from 100 feet, and a hostile machine on the ground was attacked with good results.

On Sept. 7 eleven machines of No. 99 Squadron, followed by ten machines of No. 104 Squadron, made an almost simultaneous attack on Mannheim, where bombs were dropped with excellent results on the Badische Anilin Soda Fabrik Works. No. 99 Squadron obtained at least eight direct hits on the factory, but the result of No. 104 Squadron could not be observed owing to the mist and smoke. Both squadrons were attacked on the outward and return journey and over the objective by superior numbers of hostile aircraft. The formation of No. 99 Squadron was led by Colonel (then Major) L. A. Pattinson, and the formation of No. 104 Squadron by Captain R. J. Gammon.

DESPERATE GERMAN ATTACKS

No. 99 Squadron was attacked by six hostile machines fifteen miles over the lines. These were driven off. Ten hostile machines attacked about fifteen miles over the lines. They were also driven off. Fifteen hostile machines then attacked over the objective. After dropping bombs the formation turned toward the hostile machines, which apparently disconcerted them, as they became scattered. On the return journey several

enemy scouts kept up a running fight. One scout attacking from in front was driven off by the leader's observer firing over the top plane. No. 104 Squadron was attacked at a long range fifteen miles over the lines. The enemy was driven off. Fifteen hostile machines heavily attacked over the objective and followed the formation back for seventy miles. Near the lines the formation was again attacked by seven hostile machines. Over two tons of bombs were dropped at Mannheim in this raid.

On the night of Sept. 16-17 seven Handley-Page machines were missing. Five of these, detailed for Cologne and Mannheim, were probably unable to return in the face of a strong southwesterly wind, which increased after the machines had left the ground. The missing machines undoubtedly attacked various objectives well into Germany before they had to land. It was reported that one machine landed in Holland with engine trouble, after having dropped its bombs on Bonn, and was interned.

On Sept. 25 No. 110 Squadron, led by Captains A. Lindley and A. C. M. Groom, dropped over 1½ tons of bombs on Frankfort. They were opposed by a large number of hostile machines, two of which they destroyed. Four of our machines did not return, and, in addition, one observer was killed and one observer and one pilot were wounded. This was the first long-distance raid carried out by this squadron.

On the night of Oct. 21-22 machines of Nos.

97 and 100 Squadrons attacked the railways at Kaiserslautern in very bad weather. Several 1.650-pound bombs were dropped, but bad visibility obscured the results. One very large fire and five smaller ones were observed, and all these fires were seen to be still burning when the town was lost sight of in the mist.

I would like to bring to your notice the work of bombing aerodromes done by No. 100 Squadron, commanded by Major C. G. Burge, when it was equipped with the short-distance F.E. 2b machines, and also with Handley-Pages. The squadron bombed aerodromes from low heights, and photographs show that a large number of sheds were hit.

The Independent Force, at the request of Marshal Foch, co-operated with the American First Army in its attack on the St. Mihiel salient, and it further co-operated with the army by attacking important railway junctions behind the French lines in the combined offensive of Sept. 26.

General Trenchard's dispatch ends with praise for the work of his entire staff, including Brig. Gen. B. B. Gordon, his Chief of Staff, and Colonel G. R. M. Church, his Army Troops Commander.

Official figures made public in Berlin on March 16 showed that 729 persons were killed and 1,574 injured by allied aerial attacks on German territory up to Nov. 6, 1918.

Decrease in the Population of France

Official statistics show that the civilian population of France in the four years of war decreased by considerably over three-quarters of a million, without including the deaths in occupied Northern France or the losses due directly to the war. In 1913 the births outnumbered the deaths by 17,000. But this slight excess disappeared in the following year, since which time the deaths have outnumbered the births—in 1914 by more than 50,000, and in 1915, 1916, and 1917 by nearly 300,000 in each year. The total excess of deaths over births for these four years is given as 883,160. Births, which numbered approximately 600,000 in 1913, dropped to 315,000 in 1916, and 343,000 in 1917, while the deaths increased, but not in comparable proportions, so that the total decrease in population was due to the great diminution in births, and not to any great increase in deaths. The statistics cover seventy-seven departments, excluding the eleven invaded departments and not including 1,400,000 persons killed in the war.



HAIG'S VICTORY DISPATCH

Full Text of the British Field Marshal's Official Narrative of the Final Battles in France

[SECOND HALF]

HE first half of Sir Douglas Haig's official report of Dec. 21, 1918, covering the last six months of fighting in France, appeared in the preceding issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE. The narrative is here continued in full to the conclusion at the time of the armistice:

(33) THE HINDENBURG LINE

Between St. Quentin and the village of Bantouzelle the principal defenses of the Hindenburg system lie sometimes to the west, but more generally to the east of the line of the Scheldt Canal.

The canal itself does not appear to have been organized as the enemy's main line of resistance, but rather as an integral part of a deep defensive system, the outstanding characteristic of which was the skill with which it was sited so as to deny us effective artillery positions from which to attack it. The chief rôle of the canal was that of affording cover to resting troops and to the garrisons of the main defensive trench lines during the bombardment. To this end the canal lent itself admirably, and the fullest use was made by the enemy of its possibilities.

The general configuration of the ground through which this sector of the canal runs produces deep cuttings of a depth in places of some sixty feet, while between Bellicourt and the neighborhood of Vendhuille the canal passes through a tunnel for a distance of 6,000 yards. In the sides of the cuttings the enemy had constructed numerous tunneled dugouts and concrete shelters. Along the top edge of them he had concealed well-sited concrete or armored machine-gun emplacements. The tunnel itself was used to provide living accommodations for troops, and was connected by shafts with the trenches above. South of Bellicourt the canal cutting gradually becomes shallow, till at Bellenglise the canal lies almost at ground level. South of Bellenglise the canal is dry.

On the western side of the canal south of Bellicourt two thoroughly organized and extremely heavily wired lines of continuous trench run roughly parallel to the canal, at average distances from it of 2,000 and 1,000 yards respectively. Except in the tunnel sector the double line of trenches known as the Hindenburg line proper lies immediately east of the canal, and is linked up by nu-

merous communication trenches with the trench lines west of it.

Besides these main features, numerous other trench lines, switch trenches, and communication trenches, for the most part heav-. ily wired, had been constructed at various points to meet local weaknesses or take advantage of local command of fire. At a distance of about 4,000 vards behind the most easterly of these trench lines lies a second double row of trenches known as the Beaurevoir-Fonsomme line, very thoroughly wired and holding numerous concrete shelters and machine-gun emplacements. The whole series of defenses, with the numerous defended villages contained in it, formed a belt of country varying from 7,000 to 10,000 yards in depth, organized by the employment of every available means into a most powerful system, well meriting the great reputation attached to it.

(34) THE BATTLE OF CAMBRAI AND THE HINDENBURG LINE

(Sept. 27-Oct. 5)

The battle of Cambrai, which on Oct. 5 culminated in the capture of the last remaining sectors of the Hindenburg line, was commenced by the First and Third Armies.

Between the neighborhood of St. Quentin and the Scheldt the Fourth, Third, and First Armies in the order named occupied on the evening of Sept. 26 a line running from the village of Selency (west of St. Quentin) to Gricourt and Pontruet, and thence east of Villeret and Lempire to Villers Guislain and Gouzeaucourt, both exclusive. Thereafter the line continued northward to Havrincourt and Moeuvres, and thence along the west side of the Canal du Nord to the floods of the Sensee at Ecourt St. Quentin.

On the First and Third Army fronts strong positions covering the approaches to Cambrai between the Nord and Scheldt Canals. including the section of the Hindenburg line itself north of Gouzeacourt, were still in the enemy's possession. His trenches in this sector faced southwest, and it was desirable that they should be taken in the early stages of the operation, so as to render it easier for the artillery of the Fourth Army to get into position. On the Fourth Army front, where the heaviest blow was to fall, the exceptional strength of the enemy's position made a prolonged bombardment necessary. I therefore decided that a very heavy bombardment, opened during the night of Sept. 26 and 27 along the whole front of all three armies, should be followed on the morning of Sept. 27 by an attack delivered only by the First and Third Armies. In this way the enemy might be deceived as to the main point of attack, the First and Third Armies would be enabled to get nearer to their final objective, and the task of the Fourth Army artillery would be simplified.

(35) THE BATTLE OPENED

On the morning of Sept. 26 French and American forces attacked on both sides of the Argonne, between the Meuse and the Suippe Rivers.

At 5:20 A. M. on Sept. 27 the Third and First British Armies attacked with the 4th, 6th, 17th, and Canadian Corps in the direction of Cambrai on a front of about thirteen miles from Gouzeaucourt to the neighborhood of Sauchy Lestree. The success of the northern part of the attack depended upon the ability of our troops to debouch from the neighborhood of Moeuvres, and to secure the crossings of the Canal du Nord in that locality. The northern portion of the canal was too formidable an obstacle to be crossed in the face of the enemy. It was therefore necessary for the attacking divisions to force a passage on a comparatively narrow front about Moeuvres, and thereafter turn the line of the canal further north by a divergent attack developed fanwise from the point of crossing. This difficult manoeuvre was carried out successfully, and on the whole front of attack our infantry, assisted by some sixty-five tanks, broke deeply into the enemy's position.

The attack proceeded according to plan from the commencement. On the right strong resistance was encountered at Beaucamp. Several strong counterattacks were made during the day in this neighborhood, but in spite of them troops of the 5th and 42d Divisions successfully established the right flank of our attack between Beaucamp and Ribecourt. The 3d Division moved forward with the guards, forcing the crossings of the canal in face of heavy fire from machine guns and forward field guns and captured Ribecourt and Flesquieres. The Guards Division (Major Gen. T. G. Matheson) took Orival Wood and reached the neighborhood of Premy Chapel, where the 2d Division (Major Gen. C. E. Pereira) took up the advance.

In the centre the 52d Division, (Major Gen. F. J. Marshall,) passing its troops across the canal by bridgeheads previously established by the 37th Division, on the opening of the assault carried the German trench lines east of the canal and gained the high ground overlooking Graincourt. On their left the 63d Division and the 4th and 1st Canadian Divisions (under command of Major Gen. Sir D. Watson and A. C. MacDonell) moved under cover of darkness down the west bank of the canal between Moeuvres and Sains-les-Marquion. In the half

light of dawn these three divisions stormed the line of the canal itself, and advanced on Graincourt, Anneux, Bourlon, and the slopes to the north of the latter village.

As soon as the line of the canal had been secured our engineer troops commenced the construction of bridges, completing their task with remarkable speed and working with great gallantry under the fire of the German guns. Greatly assisted by their efforts, our advance continued. Obstinate resistance was met with at Graincourt, and it was not until late in the day that the village was finally surrounded and captured by the 63d Division. The 57th Division (Major Gen. R. W. R. Barnes) meanwhile had passed through and carried the line forward east of Anneux to Fontaine-Notre-Dame. Bourlon had been carried by the 4th Canadian Division, and the 3d Canadian Division (Major Gen. F. O. W. Loomis) had passed through at Bourlon Wood, which was wholly in our possession.

On the left the 1st Canadian Division, having seized Sains-les-Marquion early in the attack, advanced with the 11th Division (Major Gen. H. R. Davies) and took Haynecourt, while the latter division captured Epinoy and Oisy-le-Verger. On the extreme left the 56th Division of the 22d Corps crossed the canal and, having cleared Sauchy Lestree and Sauchy Cauchy, moved northward toward Palluel.

At the end of the day our troops had reached the general line Beaucamp-Ribe-court-Fontaine-Notre-Dame-east of Hayne-court-Epinoy-Oisy-le-Verger, and had taken over 10,000 prisoners and 200 guns.

Next day the advance on this front was continued, and Gouzeaucourt, Marcoing, Novelles-sur-l'Escaut, Fontaine-Notre-Dame, Sailly, and Palluel were taken. At Marcoing our troops established themselves on the east bank of the Scheldt Canal and on the northern flank entered Aubencheul-au-Bac.

(36) THE HINDENBURG LINE BROKEN

The heavy and continuous bombardment opened on the morning of Sept. 27 had been maintained by the Fourth Army along its whole front without intermission for two days. The intensity of our fire drove the enemy's garrisons to take refuge in their deep dugouts and tunnels, and made it impossible for his carrying parties to bring up food and ammunition.

At 5:50 A. M. on Sept. 29, under an intense artillery barrage, General Rawlinson's Fourth Army attacked on a front of twelve miles, between Holnon and Vendhuille, with the 9th, 2d American (General G. W. Read commanding) and 3d Corps, a strong force of tanks, manned by British and American crews, accompanying the infantry. On the right of the Fourth Army the French First Army continued the line of attack in the St. Quentin sector. On the left the 5th and 4th Corps of the Third Army had attacked at an earlier hour between Vendhuille and Mar-

coing, and had heavy fighting about Villers Guislain, Gonnelieu, and Welsh Ridge.

On the Fourth Army front, the 46th Division (Major Gen. G. F. Boyd) greatly distinguished itself in the capture of Bellen-The village is situated in the angle of the Scheldt Canal, which, after running in a southerly direction from Bellicourt. here bends sharply to the east toward the Le Tronquoy Tunnel. Equipped with lifebelts. and carrying mats and rafts, the 46th Division stormed the western arm of the canal at Bellenglise and to the north of it, some crossing the canal on footbridges which the enemy was given no time to destroy, others dropping down the sheer sides of the canal wall, and, having swum or waded to the far side, climbing up the further wall to the German trench lines on the eastern bank. Having captured these trenches, the attacking troops swung to the right and took from flank and rear the German defenses along the eastern arm of the canal and on the high ground south of the canal, capturing many prisoners and German batteries in action before the enemy had had time to realize the new direction of the attack. So thorough and complete was the organization for this attack, and so gallantly, rapidly, and well was it executed by the troops, that this one division took on this day over 4,000 prisoners and 70 guns.

On the remainder of the front, also, our attack met with remarkable success. South of Bellenglise, the 1st Division, (Major Gen. F. P. Strickland,) with the 6th Division covering their flank, crossed the ridge northwest of Thorigny and reached the west end of the Le Tronquoy Tunnel. Here they gained touch with the 32d Division, who had passed through the 46th Division and taken Lehaucourt and Magny la Fosse. North of Bellenglise the 30th American Division, (Major Gen. E. M. Lewis,) having broken through the deep defenses of the Hindenburg line, stormed Bellicourt and seized Nauroy. On their left the 27th American Division (Major Gen. J. F. O'Ryan) met with very heavy enfilade machine-gun fire, but pressed on with great gallantry as far as Bony, where a bitter struggle took place for the possession of the village.

Fighting on the whole front of the 2d American Corps was severe, and in Bellicourt, Nauroy, Gillemont Farm, and at a number of other points amid the intricate defenses of the Hindenburg line, strong bodies of the enemy held out with great obstinacy for many hours. These points of resistance were gradually overcome, either by the support troops of the American divisions or by the 5th and 3d Australian Divisions (Major Gens. Sir J. J. T. Hobbs and J. Gellibrand) which, moving up close behind the American troops, were soon heavily engaged. On the left of the attack the 12th and 18th Divisions cleared the slopes above Vend-

Meanwhile, the Third Army captured Masnières and secured the crossings of the Scheldt Canal between that village and the outskirts of Cambrai, while the Canadian Corps made progress northwest of that town, taking St. Olle and Sancourt.

For the next two days our attacks continued on all fronts. On Sept. 30 the gap in the Hindenburg line was enlarged by the capture of Thorigny and Le Tronquoy by the 1st and 32d Divisions, thus securing possession of the Le Tronquoy Tunnel. On this day the enemy abandoned Villers Guislan and Gonnelieu, being threatened with envelopment, and withdrew behind the Scheldt Canal.

Next day the 9th and Australian Corps attacked in conjunction with the French First Army, who occupied St. Quentin. Levergies was taken by the 32d Division and Australian troops captured Joncourt, Estress, and Bony, establishing our line well to the north and east of the latter village.

In the Cambrai sector the New Zealand and 3d Divisions took Crevecoeur and Rumilly, while north of Cambrai the Canadian Corps cleared the high ground west of Ramillies and entered Blecourt. The fighting on the Canadian front at this period was particularly severe, and our troops displayed great courage and determination. The €nemy employed large forces, amounting to at least eleven divisions in the space of five days, in his attempt to check our advance, and counterattacked frequently and in strength.

(37) MONTBREHAIN AND BEAUREVOIR

During the first week of October the Cambrai battle was completed by a series of successful minor operations, in which the breach driven through the Hindenburg line, and such prepared defenses as lay behind it, was widened.

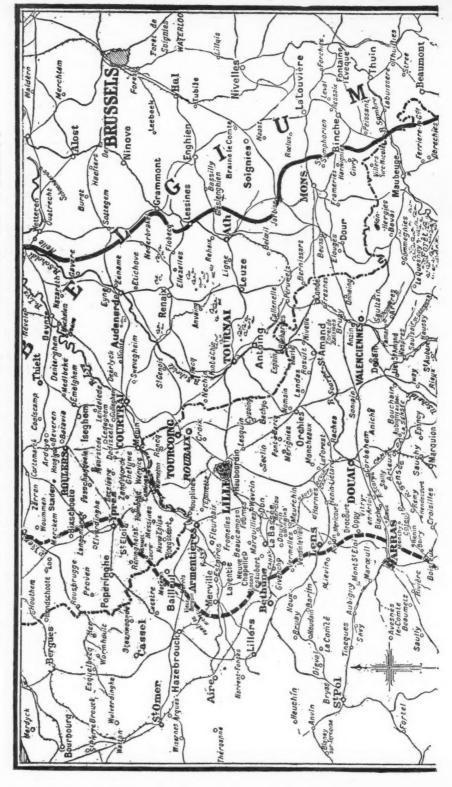
On Oct. 3 the Fourth Army attacked between Sequehart and Le Catelet and captured those villages and Ramicourt, together with the Beaurevoir-Fonsomme line on that front. In this operation the 50th Division took Gouy and Le Catelet after heavy and prolonged fighting, in which a number of counterattacks were beaten off.

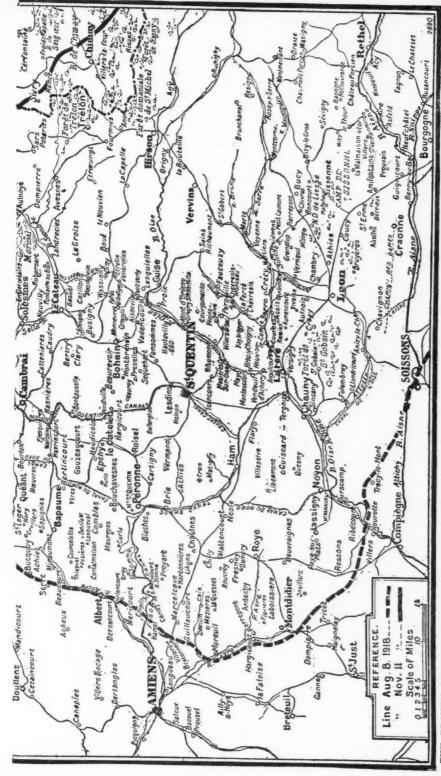
In the course of the next two days, other local improvements were effected in our line in this sector, and the villages of Montbrehain and Beaurevoir were captured after hard fighting, in which tanks did good service. Our advance compelled the enemy to evacuate the high ground about La Terriere, in the bend of the Scheldt Canal between Le Catelet and Crevecoeur, with the result that on Oct. 5 the right of the Third Army was able to cross the Scheldt Canal and occupy the Hindenburg line east of it, thereby greatly simplifying our arrangements for our next attack.

(38) RESULTS OF BREAKING THE HINDENBURG LINE

The great and critical assaults in which during these nine days of battle the First,

Scene of the Final British Victories in France





THE BROKEN LINE INDICATES THE BATTLEFRONT AT THE BEGINNING OF THE MAIN BRITISH OFFENSIVE, AND THE SOLID BLACK LINE SHOWS WHERE THE GERMANS HAD BEEN DRIVEN TO WHEN THE ARMISTICE WAS SIGNED

Third, and Fourth Armies stormed the line of the Canal du Nord and broke through the Hindenburg line mark the close of the first phase of the British offensive. The enemy's defense in the last and strongest of his prepared positions had been shattered. The whole of the main Hindenburg defenses had passed into our possession, and a wide gap had been driven through such rear trench systems as had existed behind them. The effect of the victory upon the subsequent course of the campaign was decisive. The threat to the enemy's communications was now direct and instant, for nothing but the natural obstacles of a wooded and wellwatered countryside lay between our armies and Maubeuge.

In the fighting of these days, in which thirty British and two American infantry divisions and one British cavalry division were engaged against thirty-nine German divisions, over 36,000 prisoners and 380 guns had been captured. Great as were the material losses the enemy had suffered, the effect of so overwhelming a defeat upon a morale already deteriorated was of even larger im-

portance.

Combined with the events in Flanders presently narrated, the advance we had made opened a new threat to the German positions on the Lys front.

(39) THE BATTLE IN FLANDERS

As indicated above in Paragraph 13, the general strategic plan of the Allies contemplated the development of operations on the Flanders front. The details of these operations were settled at a conference held by the Commander in Chief of the allied armies at Cassel on Sept. 9. The force to be engaged was to be placed under the command of His Majesty the King of the Belgian Army, some French divisions, and all the artillery and a certain number of divisions of the Second British Army, commanded by General Sir H. Plumer. To the definite plan then laid down I gladly gave my assent.

Accordingly, at 5:30 A. M., on Sept. 28, the 19th and 2d Corps of the Second Army attacked without preliminary bombardment on a front of some four and a half miles south of the Ypres-Zonnebeke road. The 14th Division, (Major Gen. P. C. B. Skinner,) 35th Division, (Major Gen. A. H. Marindin,) 29th and 9th Divisions delivered the initial assault, being supported in the later stages of the battle by the 41st Division, (Major Gen. Sir S. T. B. Lawford,) and the 36th Division, (Major Gen. C. Coffin.) On the left of the 2d Corps the Belgian Army continued the line of attack as far as Dixmude.

On both the British and Belgian fronts the attack was a brilliant success. The enemy, who was attempting to hold his positions with less than five divisions, was driven rapidly from the whole of the high ground east of Ypres, so flercely contested during the battles of 1917. By the end of the day the

British divisions had passed far beyond the furthest limits of the 1917 battles, and had reached and captured Kortewilde, Zandvoorde, Kruiseecke, and Becelaere. On their left Belgian troops had taken Zonnebeke, Poelcapelle, and Schaap Baillie, and cleared the enemy from Houlthulst Forest.

South of the main attack, successful minor enterprises by the 31st, 30th, (Major Gen. W. de L. Williams,) and 34th British Divisions carried our line forward to St. Yves and the outskirts of Messines. Wytschaete was captured, and after sharp fighting our troops established themselves along the line of the ridge between Wytschaete and

the canal north of Hollebeke.

During the succeeding days, despite continuous rain and great difficulties from the scarcity of practicable roads, the British and Belgian forces followed up the defeated enemy with the utmost vigor. On Sept. 29 our troops drove the German rearguards from Ploegsteert Wood and Messines and captured Terhand and Dadizeele. By the evening of Oct. 1 they had cleared the left bank of the Lys from Comines southward, while north of that town they were close up to Wervicq, Gheluwe, and Ledeghem. On their left the Belgian Army had passed the general line Moorslede-Staden-Dixmude.

In these most successful operations and their subsequent developments the British forces alone captured at light cost over 5,000 prisoners and 100 guns.

(40) THE WITHDRAWAL FROM LENS AND ARMENTIERES

Once more the effect of our successes showed itself rapidly.

At the beginning of September the enemy had withdrawn from his outpost positions astride the La Bassée Canal, and the activity of our patrols led to sharp fighting, in which the 16th, (Major Gen. A. B. Ritchie,) 55th, (Major Gen. Sir H. S. Jeudwine,) and 19th Divisions advanced our line close up to the outskirts of La Bassée. Thenceforward the situation on the Lys front had remained practically unchanged until Sept. 30, when the divisions of General Sir W. R. Birdwood's Fifth Army made certain small advances south of the Lys. On Oct. 2, however, the enemy once more began an extensive withdrawal, falling back on the whole front from south of Lens to Armentières. In the sector south of Lens, indeed, patrols of the 20th Division (Major Gen. G. G. S. Carey) met with considerable resistance on this day about Acheville and Mericourt, but progress was made. During the next two days the movement continued under vigorous pressure from our troops. By the evening of Oct. 4, north of Lens, we had reached the general line Vendin le Vieil-Wavrin-Erquinghem-Houplines, where the increasing strength of the enemy's resistance indicated that he intended to stand at any rate for a time. South of Lens the withdrawal slackened about this date on the general line FresnoySallaumines-Vendin le Vieil, but shortly afterward the development of our operations on the St. Quentin-Cambrai front forced upon the enemy a further retreat in this sector.

FIGHTING IN OPEN COUNTRY

(41) SECOND BATTLE OF LE CATEAU

(Oct. 6-12)

The second and concluding phase of the British offensive now opened, in which the Fourth and Third Armies and the right of the First Army moved forward with their left flank on the canal line which runs from Cambrai to Mons and their right covered by the French First Army. This advance, by the capture of Maubeuge and the disruption of the German main lateral system of communications, forced the enemy to fall back upon the line of the Meuse and realized the strategic plan of the allied operations.

The fighting which took place during this period, being in effect the development and exploitation of the Hindenburg line victory, falls into three stages, the breaks between the different battles being due chiefly to the depth of our advances and the difficulties of

re-establishing communications.

In the first of these stages, the battle of Le Cateau, certain incomplete defenses still held by the enemy were captured and his troops compelled to evacuate Cambrai and fall back behind the line of the Selle River. In the second stage the Selle River was forced. and by a development of this operation our front pushed forward to the general line Sambre Canal-west edge of the Mormal Forest-Valenciennes, where we were in position for the final assault upon Maubeuge.

(42) Having completed their arrangements, at 4:30 A. M. and 5:10 A. M., respectively, on Oct. 8 the Third and Fourth Armies attacked on a front of over seventeen miles from Sequehart to south of Cambrai. troops continued the line of attack on our right as far south as St. Quentin. Further south French and American troops attacked on this day east of the Meuse and in Champagne, and made important progress.

On the British battlefront our infantry and tanks penetrated the enemy's positions to a depth of between three and four miles, passing rapidly over the incomplete trench lines above referred to and gaining the open country beyond. Strong at the outset of our attack, during the later stages opposition weakened. Brancourt and Prémont were taken by the 30th American Division, while to the north of them the 66th Division, (Major General H. K. Bethell,) attacking beside the 25th Division, (Major Gen. J. R. E. Charles,) captured Serain. Villers Outreaux was cleared by the 38th Division, with the assistance of tanks, after heavy fighting, and late in the afternoon Malincourt was captured. The New Zealand Division passed through Lesdain and took Esnes, while on the left of the attack the 3d, 2d, and 63d Divisions captured Seranvillers, Forenville, and Nier- a operations. By Oct. 13 we had reached the

gnies after very heavy fighting, in the course of which the enemy counterattacked with tanks. On the extreme left the 57th Division made progress in the southern outskirts of Cambrai.

Ar the result of this attack the enemy's resistance temporarily gave way. His infantry became disorganized and retired steadily eastward, while our airmen reported that the roads converging on Le Cateau were blocked with troops and transport. Several thousand prisoners and many guns fell into our hands. During the following night the Canadian Corps captured Ramillies and crossed the Scheldt Canal at Pont d'Aire. Canadian patrols entered Cambrai from the north and joined hands with patrols of the 57th Division working through the southern portion of the town. Next morning at 5:20 the Fourth and Third Armies resumed the attack on the whole front, cavalry assisting in the advance. By nightfall our troops were within two miles of Le Cateau, had captured Bohain, and were attacking Caudry from the south. Cambrai was in our hands, and our troops were three miles to the east of the town.

In this day's fighting cavalry again did valuable and gallant work, hurrying the enemy in his retreat and preventing him from completing the destruction of the railway which runs from St. Quentin to Busigny and Cambrai. When our infantry were held up by heavy machine-gun fire from Cattigny Wood and Clary, a dashing charge by the Fort Garry Horse gained a footing in Cattigny Wood and assisted our infantry to press forward. Further east, Dragoon Guards and Canadian cavalry were instrumental in the capture of Honnechy, Reumont, and Troisvilles.

On Oct. 10 our progress continued, though the enemy's resistance gradually stiffened as our troops approached the line of the River Selle, and attempts made by the cavalry to cross that stream had to be abandoned. That night we had reached the outskirts of Riquerval Wood, and held the west bank of the Selle River thence as far as Viesly, whence our line ran past St. Hilaire and Avesnes, taken by the Guards and 24th Divisions, to the Scheldt at Thun St. Martin.

During these days the French First Army on our right advaanced its line east of St. Quentin, clearing the west bank of the Oise-Sambre Canal as far north as Bernot.

(43) WITHDRAWAL FROM LAON

By this advance, in which twenty British infantry, two British cavalry, and one American infantry division routed twenty-four German divisions and took from them 12,000 prisoners and 250 guns, we gained full possession of the important lateral double line of railway running from St. Quentin through Busigny to Cambrai. During the repair of such portions of it as had been destroyed and the removal of delay action mines left by the enemy, our line was carried forward by local Selle River at all points south of Haspres and had established bridgeheads at a number of places.

Meanwhile, on Oct. 7, under close pressure from our troops, the enemy had extended the flank of his withdrawal south of Lens, and on that day the 8th Division had captured Biache St. Vaast and Oppy, with some hundreds of prisoners. After the launching of our attack on Oct. 8, this movement continued with increased rapidity. By the evening of Oct. 13 our troops had reached the western suburbs of Douai, and were close up to the west banks of the Sensée Deviation and Haut Deule Canals on the whole front from Arleux (south of Douai) to Vendin le Vieil.

During this period also our allies had been pushing forward steadily on both sides of the Argonne. Held by their attacks on his southern flank, while to the north the British offensive was driving forward rapidly behind his right, the enemy was forced to evacuate his positions in the Laon sallent. Signs of a widespread German withdrawal were reported on Oct. 11, and by the evening of Oct. 13 Laon was in French hands.

(44) ADVANCE IN FLANDERS RESUMED

While these great events were taking place to the south of them, the allied forces in Flanders were busily engaged in re-establishing adequate communications in the area of the old Ypres battles. By dint of great exertions, and the most careful organization of traffic routes, by the end of the second week in October the restoration of the allied systems of communications was sufficiently far advanced to permit of a resumption of the offensive.

Accordingly, at 5:35 A. M. on the 14th of October, the British, Belgian, and French forces, under command of His Majesty the King of the Belgians, attacked on the whole front between the Lys River at Comines and

The British sector extended for a distance of between nine and ten miles from Comines to the hamlet of St. Peter, on the Menin-Roulers road. The assault was launched by the 10th, 19th, and 2d Corps of General Plumer's Second Army, under command respectively of Lieut. Gen. R. B. Stephens, Lieut. Gen. Sir E. E. Watts, and Lieut. Gen. Sir C. W. Jacob, employing respectively the 30th and 34th Divisions, the 41st and 35th Divisions, and the 36th, 29th, and 9th Divisions.

The allied attack was again attended by complete success. The two southern British corps advanced their line according to program to the southern edge of the rising ground overlooking Wervicq, Menin, and Wevelghem, in spite of very considerable resistance. Meanwhile, the 2d Corps, after heavy fighting, penetrated to a depth of between three and four miles eastward, capturing Moorseele and making progress beyond it to within a short distance of Gulleg-

hem and Steenbeek. On our left Belgian troops reached Iseghem, French troops surrounded Roulers, while further north other Belgian divisions took Cortemarck.

During the ensuing days our success was vigorously exploited. By the afternoon of the 16th of October we held the north bank of the Lys from Frelinghien to opposite Harlebeke, and had crossed the river at a number of points. To the north of us our allies also had made striking progress. Before nightfall on the 15th of October Thourout was surrounded, and next day the enemy retired rapidly. Ostend fell on the 17th of October, and three days later the northern flank of the allied line rested on the Dutch frontier.

In these operations and others of a lesser nature carried out on the last day of the month after the withdrawal next mentioned the British forces operating on this battlefront captured over 6,000 prisoners and 210 guns.

(45) THE EVACUATION OF LILLE

Our advance north of the Lys had brought our troops far to the east of the Lille defenses on the northern side, while our progress on the Le Cateau front had turned the Lille defenses from the south. The German forces between the Sensée and the Lys were once more compelled to withdraw, closely followed by our troops, who constantly drove in their rearguards and took a number of prisoners. The enemy was given no opportunity to complete the removal of his stores and the destruction of roads and bridges, or to evacuate the civil population.

The movement began on Oct. 15, when, in spite of considerable opposition, our troops crossed the Haute Deule Canal on a wide front north of Pont-a-Vendin. By the evening of Oct. 17 the 8th Division of General Sir A. Hunter Weston's 8th Corps had entered Douai and the 57th and 59th Divisions (Major Gen. N. M. Smyth) of Lieut. Gen. Sir R. C. B. Haking's 11th Corps were on the outskirts of Lille. At 5:50 A. M. on Oct. 18 our troops had encircled Lille, which was clear of the enemy. During the day our line was carried far to the east of these towns and east of Roubaix and Tourcoing, occupied by the 40th and 51st Divisions (Major Gen. Sir W. E. Feyton commanding 40th Division) of Lieut. Gen. Sir H. B. de Lisle's 15th Corps. Thereafter our troops pressed forward steadily, until by the evening of oct. 22 they had reached the general line of the Scheldt on the whole front from Valenciennes to the neighborhood of Avelghem.

(46) BATTLE OF THE SELLE RIVER (Oct. 17-25)

Meanwhile, communications on the Le Cateau front were improving, and it was possible to recommence operations of a more than local character for the forcing of the Selle positions and the attainment of the general line Sambre et Oise Canal-west edge of the Forêt de Mormal-Valenciennes. This advance would bring the important railway junction at Aulnoye within effective range of our guns.

Our operations were opened on Oct. 17 by an attack by the Fourth Army on a front of about ten miles from Le Cateau southward, in conjunction with the French First Army operating west of the Sambre et Oise Canal. The assault launched at 5:20 A. M. was delivered by the 9th, 2d American, and 13th Corps, employing, respectiv ly, the 46th, 1st, and 6th Divisions, the 30th and 27th American Divisions, and the 50th and 66th Divisions.

The enemy was holding the difficult wooded country east of Bohain and the line of the Selle north of it in great strength, his infantry being well supported by artillery. During the first two days his resistance was obstinate, but the attacking British and American troops made good progress. By the evening of the 19th of October, after much severe fighting, the enemy had been driven across the Sambre et Oise Canal at practically all points south of Catillon, whence our line followed the valley of the Richemont east and north of Le Cateau.

This success was followed at 2 A. M. on the 20th of October by an attack upon the line of the Selle River north of Le Cateau. The troops employed were the 38th, 17th, 5th, 42d, 62d Guards, and 19th Divisions of the Third Army, and the 4th Division on the right of the First Army in that order from right to left.

On this occasion also the enemy's resistance was serious, and he had been able to erect wire entanglements along the greater part of the line. Our advance was strongly contested at every point, frequent counterattacks Supported by a number of being made. tanks which had successfully crossed the river, our infantry, after severe fighting about Neuvilly, Amerval, Solesmes, and Haspres, gained their objectives on the high ground east of the Selle, pushing out patrols as far as the River Harpies. North of Haspres other troops of the First Army continued to make progress on both sides of the Scheldt Canal, reaching the slopes overlooking the left bank of the Ecaillon River and occupying Denain.

(47) The capture of the Selle positions was followed almost immediately by the larger operation for the attainment of the required general line above mentioned, running from the Sambre Canal along the edge of the Mormal Forest to the neighborhood of Valenciennes.

The original front of attack stretched from east of Mazinghien to Maison Bleue, north-east of Haussy, a distance of some fifteen miles. The assault was opened by the Fourth Army at 1:20 A. M. on the 23d of October and was delivered by the 9th and 13th Corps, employing, respectively, the 1st and 6th Divisions and the 25th and 18th Divisions. The Third Army again attacked with the 5th, 4th, 6th, and 17th Corps, employing, re-

spectively, the 33d and 21st Divisions, the 5th, 42d, 37th, and New Zealand Divisions, the 3d and 2d Divisions, and the 19th Division. On the second day the 61st Division of the 17th Corps and the 4th Division and 51st Division of the 22d Corps, First Army, extended the line of attack for a further five miles northward to the Scheldt.

The unfavorable weather of the preceding days had made it difficult to locate the enemy's batteries, and during the earlier stages of the battle hostile artillery fire was heavy. Despite this, and in spite of determined opposition at many points from the German machine gunners, in two days our infantry and tanks realized an advance of six miles over difficult country. About many of the woods and villages which lay in the way of our attack there was severe fighting, particularly in the large wood known as the Bois l'Eveque and at Pommereuil, Bousies Forest, and Vendegies-sur-Ecaillon. latter village held out till the afternoon of the 24th of October, when it was taken by an enveloping attack by troops of the 19th Division and 61st Division.

At the end of that day the western out-skirts of the Forêt de Mormal had been reached, our troops were within a mile of Le Quesnoy, and to the northwest of that town had captured the villages of Ruesnes and Maing. Local operations during the following three days gave us Englefontaine and established our line well to the north and east of the Le Quesnoy-Valenciennes railway, from the outskirts of Le Quesnoy, past Sepmeries and Artres to Famars.

(48) THE ENEMY'S POSITION AT THE END OF OCTOBER

By this time the rapid succession of heavy blows dealt by the British forces had had a cumulative effect, both moral and material. upon the German armies. The difficulty of replacing the enemy's enormous losses in guns, machine guns and ammunition had increased with every fresh attack, and his reserves of men were exhausted. In the Selle battle the twenty-four British and two American divisions engaged had captured a further 20,000 prisoners and 475 guns from the thirty-one German divisions opposed to them, and had advanced to a great depth with certainty and precision. Though troops could still be found to offer resistance to our initial assault, the German infantry and machine gunners were no longer reliable, and cases were being reported of their retiring without fighting in front of our artillery bar-

The capitulation of Turkey and Bulgaria and the imminent collapse of Austria—consequent upon allied successes which the desperate position of her own armies on the western front had rendered her powerless to prevent—had made Germany's military situation ultimately impossible. If her armies were allowed to withdraw undisturbed to shorter lines the struggle might still be

protracted over the Winter. The British armies, however, were now in a position to prevent this by a direct attack upon a vital centre, which should anticipate the enemy's withdrawal and force an immediate conclusion.

(49) BATTLE OF THE SAMBRE

(Nov. 1-11)

The principal British attack was to take place at the beginning of November, as soon as possible after the capture of Valen-. ciennes, which I regarded as a necessary preliminary. In view of the likelihood of fresh withdrawals, time was of importance. Accordingly, at 5:15 A. M. on Nov. 1, the 17th Corps of the Third Army and the 22d and Canadian Corps of the First Army attacked on a front of about six miles south of Valenciennes, and in the course of two days of heavy fighting inflicted a severe defeat on the enemy. During these two days the 61st Division, (Major Gen. F. J. Duncan,) 49th Division, (Major Gen. H. J. G. Cameron,) and 4th Division (Major Gen. C. H. T. Lucas) crossed the Rhonelle River, capturing Maresches and Preseau after a stubborn struggle, and established themselves on the high ground two miles to the east of it. On their left the 4th Canadian Division captured Valenciennes and made progress beyond the town.

As a consequence of this defeat the enemy on Nov. 3 withdrew on the Le Quesnoy-Valenciennes front—and our line was advanced. There were indications that a further withdrawal was contemplated both in the Tournai salient, where the line of the Scheldt was turned by our progress on the battlefront, and also in the area to the south of us, where the enemy's positions were equally threatened by our advance. Our principal attack was ready.

(50) The front of the decisive attack delivered by the Fourth, Third, and First Armies on Nov. 4 extended for a distance of about thirty miles from the Sambre, north of Oisy;

to Valenciennes.

The nature of the country across which our advance was to be made was most difficult. In the south the river had to be crossed almost at the outset. In the centre the great Forest of Mormal, though much depleted by German woodcutting, still presented a formidable obstacle. In the north the fortified town of Le Quesnoy and several streams which ran parallel to the line of our advance offered frequent opportunities for successful defense. On the other hand, our troops had never been so confident of victory or so assured of their own superiority.

After an intense bombardment our troops moved forward to the assault at about dawn, under a most effective artillery barrage, and very soon had penetrated the enemy's positions on the whole battlefront. Throughout the day their pressure was never relaxed, and by the evening they had advanced to a depth of five miles, reaching the general line

Fesmy-Landrecies-centre of Forêt de Mormal-Wargnies-le-Grand-five miles east of Valenciennes-Onnaing-Scheldt Canal opposite Thiers.

On the right of the attack the 1st Division of the 9th Corps, under the command of Lieut. Gen. Sir W. P. Braithwaite, starting at 5:45 A. M., captured Catillon, and proceeded to pass troops across the Sambre at this place and at the lock some two miles to the south of it. This difficult operation was accomplished with remarkable rapidity and skill, and by 7:45 A. M. the 1st Battalion Cameron Highlanders and the 1st Battalion Northampton Regiment were east of the river. Bois l'Abbaye, Hautreve, and La Groice were captured in turn, and, though held up for a time at Fesmy, our troops took this place also on a renewed attack at 4 P. M., subsequently advancing well to the east of it.

The 32d Division, on the left of the 9th Corps, met strong resistance all along the river line. By hard fighting they forced a crossing at Ors, and, pushing forward, took Mézierès and Heurtebise, reaching the outskirts of La Folie. Later in the day other troops of this division, having crossed the river south of Landrecies, moved against La Folie from the north, and the village was captured.

Meanwhile the 8th Corps, under command of Lieut. Gen. Sir T. L. N. Morland, had attacked at 6:15 A. M. with the 25th, 50th, and 18th Divisions and quickly overran the enemy's positions, despite strong opposition, which at Preux-au-Bois was maintained until the village was completely surrounded by our infantry and tanks. Severe fighting took place also about Landrecies, where a battalion of the 1st Guard Reserve Division had been specially detailed to hold the bridgehead. Troops of the 25th Division, having overcome this resistance, crossed the Sambre north and south of Landrecies by means of rafts and captured the town.

The divisions of the Third Army in the centre of the attack also encountered stiff resistance at first, but when this was overcome made rapid progress. The 38th and 17th Divisions of the 5th Corps, under command of Lieut. Gen. C. D. Shute, pushed far into the Forest of Mormal. Before dawn on Nov. 5 the 38th Division had reached the eastern edge of the forest, while the 17th Division, after sharp fighting about Locquighol, had penetrated a mile to the east of that village.

On the 4th Corps front the 37th and New Zealand Divisions repulsed a counterattack north of Ghissignies early in the battle with great loss to the enemy. Thereafter the 37th Division took Louvignies and Jolinetz, with over 1,000 prisoners, and during the late afternoon and evening pushed on to the centre of the forest. By 8 A. M. the New Zealand Division had already surrounded Le Quesnoy. Without attempting to take the town by direct assault, the New Zealand troops

swept past and far to the east of it, capturing Herbignies by the evening. Meanwhile we had gained a footing on the ramparts surrounding Le Quesnoy, and at 4 P. M. the German garrison over 1,000 strong surrendered.

Opposite Orsinval the 62d Division of the 6th Corps attacked at 5:20 A. M., and as soon as that village had been taken the Guards Division of the same corps attacked on the left of them. Both divisions had hard fighting, but made good progress, capturing Fresnoy and Preux-au-Sart, and reaching the western outskirts of Commegnies. On the front of the 17th Corps on the left of the Third Army the enemy's resistance was less vigorous, though sharp fighting took place about Wargnies-le-Petit. This village and Wargnies-le-Grand were taben by the 24th Division (Major Gen. A. C. Daly) during the afternoon, while the 19th Division captured Bry and Eth.

On the front of the First Army the 22d Corps and the Canadian Corps advanced against little opposition, except on their right. Here the 11th and 56th Divisions, having crossed the Aunelle River and captured the villages of Le Triez, Sebourg, and Sebourquiaux, were counterattacked on the high ground east of the Aunelle and pressed back slightly. The 4th and 3d Canadian Divisions on their left reached the outskirts of Rombies, and the eastern side of the marshes north of Valenciennes.

In these operations and their developments twenty British divisions utterly defeated thirty-two German divisions and captured 19,000 prisoners and more than 450 guns. On our right the French First Army, which had continued the line of attack southward to the neighborhood of Guise, kept pace with our advance, taking 5,000 prisoners and a number of guns.

(51) THE RETURN TO MONS

By this great victory the enemy's resistance was definitely broken. On the night of the 4th-5th of November his troops began to fall back on practically the whole battle-front. Throughout the following days, despite continuous rain, which imposed great hardships on our troops, infantry and cavalry pressed forward with scarcely a check, maintaining close touch with the rapidly retreating Germans.

On the 5th of November the troops of the Fourth Army realized a further advance of some four miles, penetrating beyond Prisches and Maroilles. On the Third Army front the 5th, 21st, and 33d Divisions pushed forward well to the east of Mormal Forest, while further north by the evening we were approaching Bavai. Only on the First Army front was the resistance encountered at all serious. Here, after regaining during the morning the ridge east of the Aunelle, and capturing Roisin, Meaurain, and Angreau, the divisions of the 22d Corps were held

up for a time in front of Ancre and along the line of the Honnelle River.

Throughout the day the roads packed with the enemy's troops and transport afforded excellent targets to our airmen, who took full advantage of their opportunities, despite the unfavorable weather. Over thirty guns, which bombs and machine-gun fire from the air had forced the enemy to abandon, were captured by a battalion of the 25th Division in the fields near Le Preseau.

On the 6th of November considerable opposition was again encountered on the front of the First Army, as well as on the left of the Third Army. Ancre, however, was captured, and the Honnelle River crossed, while Canadian troops took Baisieux and Quiovrechain. During the night of the 6th-7th of November the enemy's resistance again weakened, and early on the morning of the 7th of November the Guards Division entered Bavai. Next day Avesnes fell into our hands, Hautmont was captured, and our troops reached the outskirts of Maubeuge.

Meanwhile to the north of the Mons-Condé Canal our success was bearing fruit. During the night of the 7th-8th of November numerous explosions were observed behind the German lines, and on the following morning the 8th Corps and the 1st Corps (Lieut. Gen. Sir Arthur Holland) of the First and Fifth Armies were able to move forward, occupying Condé and crossing the Scheldt on a considerable front south of Antoing. Further north the enemy abandoned his bridgehead at Tournai, and the western portion of the town was occupied by our troops.

On Nov. 9 the enemy was in general retreat on the whole front of the British armies. The fortress of Mauberge was entered by the Guards Division and the 62d Division, (Major Gen. Sir R. D. Wigham,) while the Canadians were approaching Mons. The progress of the Fifth Army was accentuated, and Peruwelz, Antoins, and Tournai captured. The Second Army crossed the Scheldt on its whole front and reached the outskirts of Renaix.

Next day the advance of the five British armies continued, cavalry and cyclists operating in advance of the infantry. Only in the neighborhood of Mons was any substantial opposition met with. Here the Canadians, advancing toward the town from south and west, and working round it on the north, encountered an organized and tenacious machine-gun defense. Further north our cavalry were on the outskirts of Ath, and our line was far to the east of Tournai. Renaix had been captured and our troops were approaching Grammont.

In the early morning of Nov. 11 the 3d Canadian Division captured Mons, the whole of the German defending force being killed or taken prisoner.

(52) THE ARMISTICE

At 11 A. M. on Nov. 11, in accordance with instructions received from the Commander in

Chief of the allied armies, hostilities were suspended. At that hour the right of the Fourth Army was east of the Franco-Belgian frontier and thence northward our troops had reached the general line Sivry-Erquelinnes-Boussu-Jurbise-Herghies-Ghislenghein-Lessines-Grammont.

The military situation on the British front on the morning of Nov. 11 can be stated very shortly. In the fighting since Nov. 1 our troops had broken the enemy's resistance beyond possibility of recovery, and had forced on him a disorderly retreat along the whole front of the British armies. Thereafter, the enemy was capable neither of accepting nor refusing battle. The utter confusion of his troops, the state of his railways, congested with abandoned trains, the capture of huge quantities of rolling stock and material, all showed that our attack had been decisive. It had been followed on the north by the evacuation of the Tournai salient, and to the south, where the French forces had pushed forward in conjunction with us, by a rapid and costly withdrawal to the line of the Meuse.

The strategic plan of the Allies had been realized with a completeness rarely seen in war. When the armistice was signed by the enemy his defensive powers had already been definitely destroyed. A continuance of hostilities could only have meant disaster to the German armies and the armed invasion of Germany.

(53) WORK OF THE TROOPS

In three months of epic fighting the British armies in France have brought to a sudden and dramatic end the great wearing-out battle of the last four years.

In our admiration for this outstanding achievement the long years of patient and heroic struggle by which the strength and spirit of the enemy were gradually broken down cannot be forgotten. The strain of those years was never-ceasing, the demands they made upon the best of the empire's manhood are now known. Yet throughout all those years, and amid the hopes and disappointments they brought with them, the confidence of our troops in final victory never wavered. Their courage and resolution rose superior to every test, their cheerfulness never failing, however terrible the conditions in which they lived and fought. By the long road they trod with so much faith and with such devoted and self-sacrificing bravery we have arrived at victory, and today they have their reward.

The work begun and persevered in so steadfastly by those brave men has been completed during the present year with a thoroughness to which the event bears witness, and with a gallantry which will live for all time in the history of our country. The annals of war hold record of no more wonderful recovery than that which, three months after the tremendous blows showered upon them on the Somme and on the Lys,

saw the undefeated British armies advancing from victory to victory, driving their erstwhile triumphant enemy back to and far beyond the line from which he started, and finally forcing him to acknowledge unconditional defeat.

The great series of victories won by the British forces between Aug. 8 and Nov. 11 is the outstanding feature of the events described in this dispatch. At Amiens and Bapaume, in the breaking of the Drocourt-Queant and Hindenburg systems, before Le Cateau and on the Selle, in Flanders and on the Sambre, the enemy was again and again brought to battle and defeated.

In the decisive contests of this period, the strongest and most vital parts of the enemy's front were attacked by the British, his lateral communications were cut and his best divisions fought to a standstill. On the different battlefronts 187,000 prisoners and 2,850 guns were captured by us, bringing the total of our prisoners for the present year to over 201,000. Immense numbers of machine guns and trench mortars were taken also, the figures of those actually counted exceeding 29,000 machine guns and some 3,000 trench mortars. These results were achieved by 59 fighting British divisions, which in the course of three months of battle engaged and defeated 99 separate German divisions.

This record furnishes the proof of the skill of our commanders and their staffs, as well as of the fine fighting qualities of the British regimental officer and soldier. It is a proof also of the overwhelmingly decisive part played by the British armies on the western front in bringing the enemy to his final defeat.

It is an accepted military doctrine that in good defensive positions any given force can hold up an attacking force of considerably greater numbers. This doctrine was proved in the fighting of March and April of this year, when, despite the enormous superiority of force which the enemy was able to concentrate against the right of the British armies, all his efforts to effect a definite break-through were frustrated by our de-Yet, as has been seen, when the fense. tide of battle turned and the British armies advanced to the attack, throughout practically the whole of the long succession of battles which ended in the complete destruction of the German powers of resistance, the attacking British troops were numerically inferior to the German forces they defeated.

It would be impossible to devise a more eloquent testimony to the unequaled spirit and determination of the British soldier, of all ranks and services. We have been accustomed to be proud of the great and noble traditions handed down to us by the soldiers of bygone days. The men who form the armies of the empire today have created new traditions which are a challenge to the highest records of the past and will be an

inspiration to the generations who come after us.

INFANTRY

Despite the enormous development of mechanical invention in every phase of warfare, the place which the infantryman has always held as the main substance and foundation of an army is as secure today as in any period of history. The infantryman remains the backbone of defense and the spearhead of the attack. At no time has the reputation of the British infantryman been higher or his achievements more worthy of his renown. During the past three months the same infantry divisions have advanced to the attack day after day and week after week with an untiring, irresistible ardor which refused to be denied. No praise can be too high for the valor they have shown, no gratitude too deep for the work they have accomplished.

ARTILLERY

Four years of scientific warfare have seen a consistent and progressive development in the power and influence of artillery, both in the actual infantry battle and in all the stages which lead up to it. Despite the handicap under which we started the war, British artillery has played a large part in that development and of late has dominated the enemy's artillery to an ever-increasing degree. The influence of this fact upon the morale both of our own and the enemy's troops could scarcely be exaggerated.

During the present year the greater number of guns available for our use and the amount and regularity of our ammunition supply, combined with the enemy's weakened powers of resistance, due to the bitter fighting of the last two years, have for the most part led to the substitution of sudden and intense outburst of fire for the prolonged destructive bombardments which preceded our attacks in 1917. All ranks of the artillery have adapted themselves to these new conditions with complete success, and in the rapid movements of the latter stages of our advance have shown the highest technical skill and most indefatigable energy. The accuracy and intensity of our barrages, frequently arranged at short notice and with little opportunity being given for ranging or previous reconnoitring of the ground, have contributed largely to the success of our infantry attacks. The intimate co-operation between artillery and infantry, which is the first requisite in modern war, has been a marked feature of our operations.

CAVALRY

The more open character of the recent fighting at once brought prominently to notice the fact that cavalry is still a necessary arm in modern war. On a number of occasions, to some of which short reference has been made in this report, important results have been obtained by the use of cavalry,

particularly in combination with light tanks and mobile machine-gun units. Such increased opportunities as have been offered them have been seized and utilized by the cavalry with promptness and effect. Both in the development of the success of our infantry attacks and in following up the various withdrawals thereby forced upon the enemy, the different cavalry units have performed work of the highest value.

ROYAL AIR FORCES

During the last year the work of our alrmen in close co-operation with all fighting branches of the army has continued to show the same brilliant qualities which have come to be commonly associated with that service; while the ever-increasing size of the Royal Air Force and the constant improvement in the power and performance of machines, combined with the unfailing keenness of pilots and observers, have enabled intense activity to be maintained at all times.

Some idea of the magnitude of the operations carried out can be gathered from the fact that from the beginning of January, 1918, to the end of November, nearly 5,500 tons of bombs were dropped by us, 2,953 hostile airplanes were destroyed, in addition to 1,178 others driven down out of control, 241 German observation balloons were shot down in flames, and an area of over 4,000 square miles of country has been photographed, not once but many times.

The assistance given to the infantry by our low-flying airplanes during the battles of March and April was repeated during the German offensives on the Aisne and Marne, on both of which occasions British squadrons were dispatched to the French battlefront and did very gallant service. During our own attacks hostile troops and transport have been constantly and heavily attacked with most excellent results.

Both by day and night our bombing squadrons have continually attacked the enemy's railway junctions and centres of activity, reconnoissance machines have supplied valuable information from both far and near, while artillery machines have been indefatigable in their watch over German batteries and in accurate observation for our own guns. In these latter tasks our balloons have done most valuable work and have kept pace with admirable energy and promptness with the ever-changing battle line.

TANKS

Since the opening of our offensive on Aug. 8 tanks have been employed in every battle, and the importance of the part played by them in breaking the resistance of the German infantry can scarcely be exaggerated. The whole scheme of the attack of Aug. 8 was dependent upon tanks, and ever since that date on numberless occasions the success of our infantry has been powerfully assisted or confirmed by their timely arrival. So great has been the effect produced upon

the German infantry by the appearance of British tanks that in more than one instance, when for various reasons real tanks were not available in sufficient numbers, valuable results have been obtained by the use of dummy tanks painted on frames of wood and canvas.

It is no disparagement of the courage of our infantry or of the skill and devotion of our artillery to say that the achievements of those essential arms would have fallen short of the full measure of success achieved by our armies had it not been for the very gallant and devoted work of the Tank Corps, under the command of Major Gen. H. J. Elles.

TRENCH MORTARS

Throughout the period under review the personnel of the trench mortar batteries, both heavy, medium, and light, have continued to discharge their duties with skill and efficiency whenever opportunity offered for the effective use of their arms. During the period of trench warfare the heavier types of trench mortars well maintained their superiority over the enemy, while during the war of movement later in the campaign numerous instances were reported when the lighter types have been used with effect well forward in the attack in overcoming the resistance of hostile strong points.

MACHINE GUN CORPS

The high reputation earned by the different units of the Machine Gun Corps during the defensive battles of the Spring has been well maintained under the changed conditions of the latter part of the year. The great value of the machine gun in the attack, when handled with energy and decision, has been proved again and again. The consistent failure of the enemy's frequent counterattacks has been due in no small degree to the skillful use of these weapons.

ROYAL ENGINEERS

Reference has already been made to the vast amount of work carried out on new defenses during the earlier part of the period under review. In the construction of the 5,000 miles of new trench 20,000,000 cubic yards of earth were shifted, while the wire entanglements erected in front of the trench lines consumed 23,500 tons of barbed wire and 15,000,000 wooden or steel pickets.

During the period of our offensive all branches of the Royal Engineers and the engineer units of the dominions have shown the greatest energy and skill in discharge of their different tasks. On many occasions, particularly in the construction of bridges under fire and in the removal of mines, they have shown courage of the highest order.

In the course of our advance some 700 road bridges, exclusive of pontoon bridges, were constructed. Many of these, and in addition a large number of footbridges for infantry assault, were constructed under heavy

shell and machine-gun fire. Notable instances of the cool pluck and determination displayed in this work were furnished by a field company of the 38th Division, which in a crossing of the Selle River lost 50 per cent. of its effectiveness, yet completed its bridge, and by the fine performance of engineer troops of the 1st Division at the crossing of the Sambre on Nov. 4.

The work of the tunneling companies has demanded equally with that of the field companies great courage and skill. In the period from Aug. 8 to the termination of hostilities nearly 14,000 German mines and traps of various descriptions, totaling over 540 tons of explosives, had been discovered and rendered harmless by the different tunneling companies, while a further amount of nearly 300 tons of explosives had been withdrawn from our own demolition charges and mine fields.

The provision of water for the troops presented a problem of great difficulty, which was met with equal energy and success. Many miles of new water mains were laid, and over 400 mechanical pumping plants, giving a daily yield of some 20,000,000 gallons of water, were installed as our troops advanced. In addition to work of the kind performed by the transportation services, engineer troops were responsible also for the repair of some 3,500 miles of roads, including the filling in of some 500 road craters.

GAS SERVICES

Prior to the commencement of the advance several important gas operations, in which large quantities of gas were discharged, were carried out successfully by the special brigade. After our advance had begun immediate advantage was taken of any temporary stabilization of the line to carry out a large number of useful operations of a lesser character, wherever it was possible to do so without danger to the lives of French civilians.

Some idea of the magnitude of the work performed and of the energy and zeal displayed by all ranks can be gained from the fact that the twenty-one special companies, with the assistance of two American companies attached for instruction, discharged during the period March-November a total of over 2,250 tons of gas. Between March 11 and Oct. 7 gas was discharged on 119 nights out of 210, and no less than 301 separate operations were successfully carried out, in addition to a large number of others which. when all preparations had been completed, had to be abandoned in consequence of changes in the tactical situation. In all these different operations all ranks of the gas services have shown their accustomed courage and devotion to duty.

SIGNAL SERVICES

The constant movement of the line and the shifting of headquarters has again imposed an enormous strain upon all ranks of the signal services. The depth of our advance

and the fact that during the latter part of in the whole of the British armies were simultaneously involved, made the maintenance of signal communications most difficult. The fact that in such circumstances the needs of the army were met reflects the highest credit upon the zeal and efficiency of all ranks.

TRANSPORTATION SERVICES

Attention has already been drawn to the work thrown upon the transportation services as the result of the German advances during the early part of the year. From the commencement of the British offensive in August the situation became reversed. Defensive measures were abandoned, and the energies of all concerned were centred upon the reconstruction of the railway system recaptured from the enemy. In spite of the fact that the enemy, as he withdrew, used every modern artifice for the destruction of railways, roads, bridges, and water supplies, the railway construction troops were able to meet all demands and accomplished successfully an unparalleled program of railway reconstruction. By the end of October no less than 1,050 miles of line, much of which had been destroyed, had been brought into service for our armies. included 485 miles of new track and some 4,000 feet of bridging.

The following is an instance of the speed with which the work of reconstruction was carried out: On Oct. 17 Lillie was evacuated by the enemy. On Oct. 25 the first train of supplies for the civil population entered the city, the railway having been carried across the Lys River at Armentières by a bridge constructed in the short space of four days. Some idea of the extent of the traffic dealt with can be gathered from the fact that in a period of six months nearly seven million officers and other ranks were carried by the broad and meter gauge railways. The number of ton miles worked by the light railway systems during a similar period amounted to over twenty-one millons.

The troops engaged upon this work have been drawn from the British railway companies and from Canada. They have worked continuously for months under great pressure. The energy and efficiency displayed in administration and execution are beyond all praise. I desire to acknowledge the great assistance rendered by the British railways and local authorities at home in supplying personnel, locomotives, wagons, and plant, the valuable service of Canadian railway troops, and the loyal co-operation and assistance of the French railways.

A similar expansion is to be noticed in the work of the roads directorate. In June, 1917, the mileage of roads maintained was 1,640; in October of 1918 it was 4,412. During a period of six months of the present year 1,500,000 tons of road stone and 685,000 sleepers and pit props were used upon the roads. The enormous demand for material is reflected in a greatly increased output from the quarries and forests worked by us.

The work at the base ports has been discharged during the last year with an efficiency and dispatch undiminished by the fact that the ports have been persistently and heavily attacked by hostile aircraft. During the period under review the Channel Train Ferry Service, opened in February last, has proved of inestimable value.

As the result of the enemy's advance in the Spring, the length of inland waterways operated by the British fell to less than 250 miles. By October, however, the mileage operated had risen to 464, and, throughout our advance, every effort has been made to open up for navigation the waterways uncovered by the enemy's retreat. Very satisfactory results have been obtained and very valuable and important service has been rendered by the personnel concerned.

SUPPLY SERVICES

The demands made by our armies upon the supply services throughout the period under review were great and increasing. Every advance made supply more difficult, and during the later stages of our offensive the work was complicated by the necessity of feeding many thousands of liberated civilians in the reconquered territories. Despite the magnitude of their task, these services rose magnificently to the demands made upon them. It is in no small degree due to their excellent organization and administration that our armies in the field have never lacked food, clothing, equipment, guns or munitions. The greatest testimony to the efficiency of these services is the rapidity of our advances, which otherwise would have been impossible. Their work was unostentatious, but its effect was far-reaching.

FORESTRY

During the twelve months ended on Oct. 31, 1918, over two and a half million tons of timber have been cut for the use of the British and French Armies by the different units under the control of the Forestry Directorate. The work has been carried out with admirable thoroughness and efficiency in close co-operation with the forestry authorities of other allied armies, and has resulted in a very material saving of transport.

THE OMNIBUS PARK

In my last dispatch I referred to the invaluable work performed by the Auxiliary Omnibus Park throughout the German offensive. During the period under review further heavy calls have been made upon it in connection with our advance. In all, a total of nearly 800,000 troops have been carried and over 2,500,000 miles have been run by the Omnibus Park. In accomplishing this task all ranks concerned have once more show the same zeal and devotion to duty which distinguished their previous conduct.

THE LABOR CORPS

Throughout the period under review the demands upon the Labor Corps were incessant. The British labor companies were composed entirely of men medically unfit for active operations, and more than half their number owed their incapacity to wounds or sickness incurred while serving with fighting units. The men of the corps, however, made light of their disabilities. Many companies worked for months on end under shellfire, long marches were willingly undertaken, and the essential work intrusted to them was cheerfully performed often under conditions entailing all the hardship and strain without the excitement of actual fighting. The successive British advances imposed upon all ranks daily increasing work and responsibilities. It is to the credit of the corps and of the excellent system of command and administration developed in it during the earlier part of the year that the labor companies have invariably answered all demands made upon them.

MEDICAL SERVICES

During the period under review the medical services under the direction of Lieut. Gen. C. H. Burtchaell deserve special commendation for the initative, energy, and success which have characterized all branches of their work. The rapid advance of the troops and the extended front on which operations were carried out during the final stages of the offensive created problems in connection with the collection, evacuation, and treatment of wounded which had not been met with in the earlier phases of the war. These difficulties were met with the most admirable promptness and efficiency.

My thanks are due to the consulting surgeons and physicians for the invaluable assistance given by them in the application of new methods to the treatment of wounds and disease; to the R. A. M. C. officers and permanent staffs of the convalescent depots for work which enabled many thousands of men to be restored to the fighting ranks; to the untiring and devoted work of the British Red Cross Society, the Order of St. John, and all members of the nursing services, whose unremitting kindness and constancy have done much to alleviate the sufferings of the sick and wounded; and finally for the very valuable services rendered by the Base Hospital Units and by individual officers of the Medical Corps of the United States of America, attached to the British Army.

THE CHAPLAIN'S DEPARTMENT

Under the direction of the principal Chaplain, the Rev. J. M. Simms, and the Deputy Chaplain General, the Right Rev. Bishop Gwynne, the clergy of all denominations ministering to the army have earned the admiration and affection of all ranks. I desire once more to express on behalf of all officers and men my profound appreciation of their unfailing devotion and self-sacrifice.

ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES AND DEPARTMENTS

To all other administrative services and departments I desire to express the thanks of the fighting forces for the loyal and efficient manner in which they have carried out their essential tasks. During a period of great strain and incessant work they have contributed in their various spheres to the smooth working of the army machine, and are entitled to a full share in the victory of our arms.

THE NAVY AND HOME AUTHORITIES

The thanks of all ranks of the British armies in France and Flanders are once more due to the royal navy and mercantile marine for their magnificent work, which throughout the heavy demands of the last year has at all times enabled our needs to be supplied.

We thank also the different home authorities and the workers in the great munition factories, both men and women, for the magnificent support they have given us through all stages of the war. We understand and appreciate the value of the work they have done.

OUR ALLIES

At the moment when the final triumph of the allied cause is assured, we and all others of the allied and associated armies can look back on the years that have gone with a satisfaction undimmed by any hint of discord or conflict of interest and ideals. Few alliances of the past can boast such a record. Few can show a purpose more tenaciously and faithfully pursued, or so fully and gloriously realized. If the complete unity and harmony of our action is to be ascribed in part to the justice of our cause, it is due also to the absolute loyalty with which that cause has been pursued by all those intrusted with the control of the different allied armies that have fought side by side with ours.

I propose to submit at a later date a further and final dispatch dealing with the advance of the British armies to the Rhine and the occupation of the Cologne bridgehead.

I have the honor to be, my Lord, your Lordship's obedient servant,

D. HAIG.

Field Marshal, Commanding in Chief, British Armies in France.

INTERNATIONAL CARTOONS OF THE WAR

[English Cartoon]

The Last of the Tyrants



-From The Passing Show, London.

He's On Top



Her Only Hope



Not What She Expected



Left On Her Doorstep



-From The San Francisco Chronicle.

Liberty Sausage



-Grand Forks Herald.

-Grant Porks Heraid

[American Cartoon]

The "Dead Horse" to Pay For



-Newark Evening News.

[American Cartoon]

Another Dose



-New York World.

[French Cartoon]

Germania and the Armistice



-From Le Pêle-Mêle, Paris.
GERMANIA: "Heavens! How thin I am;
and nobody wants me any fatter."

The Hook!

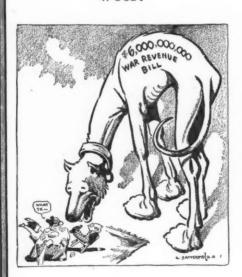






Woof!

A Hard Beast to Saddle

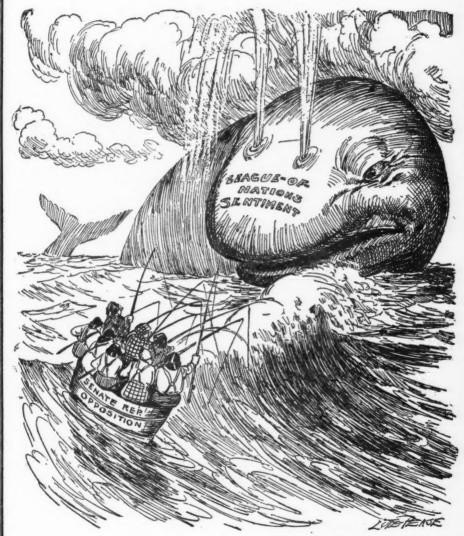




Note.—President Ebert of Germany is a saddlemaker by trade.

-From Newspaper Enterprise Association, Cleveland.

"Canst Thou Draw Out Leviathan With an Hook?"



-From The Newark Evening News.

[German Cartoon] Soft Soap



-From Kladderadatsch, Berlin. WILSON: "Thank you, gentlemen, but I shave myself."

[American Cartoon]

On the Eve of Departure



-rrom The New York Times.

"I wish I were coming back to Washington too, Woodrow!"

[French Cartoon]

That Terrible Child



-From Le Pêle-Mêle, Paris.

"Say, Grandpa, which will you choose?"

—"The Water Is Fine!"



-From The Montgomery Advertiser.

A Voice from the Past



-From The New York Herald.

Spirit of Monroe: "Please permit me to write in a needed clause."

A League of Nations Argument



Each Time He Comes Through a Little Cleaner



Looking at It From the Inside



Making the Dardanelles Safe for Navigation



-From The New York Tribune.

"Don't Do That! George Washington Used a Candle"



-New York World.

Embarrassing



-Detroit News.

The Duet



"Seein' Things"



-Brooklyn Eagle.

The Furies



-New York World.

The Only Safe Place for the Dove



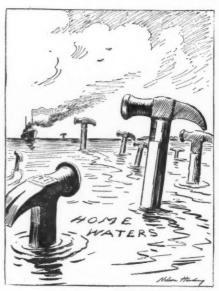
-St. Joseph News-Press.

Says He to Himself



-Chicago Tribune.

The President's Homecoming



-Brooklyn Eagle.

[English Cartoon]

War Souvenirs

Little Johnny Head-in-Air



-Dallas News.



-Passing Show, London.

[English Cartoon]

The Release of the—Butterfly!



But when is the dove coming out of the ark?

-John Bull, London.

Who Will Pay the Piper?



-San Francisco Chronicle.

Too Much Ballast



-Detroit News.

Some Blow!



-Newark Evening News.

Another Moses



-Dayton News.

The Last of the Pirates



-New York World.

All Mouth



-Memphis Commercial Appeal.

They'll Disappear When He Is Sober



No Entangling Alliances



-Detroit News.

[German Cartoons]

Seeking the One to Blame Eisner the Strong for the War



-Kladderadatsch, Berlin CHORUS OF GERMAN CRITICS: "There's the guilty man! Why did he make Germany so great?"

A Lesson for the Future



-Ulk, Berlin. "So many plus marks—and the whole a great minus!"



-Kladderadatsch, Berlin, (Dec. 29, 1918 "Is there no daughter of Bavaria who can play Delilah and cut this Samson's hair?"

Germany's New Garment



-Kladderadatsch, Berlin. "The d-d thing's sewed up at the wrong places!"

Russia in 1930

IF——YOU——DON'T——WATCH——OUT



-From The New York Herald

[English Cartoon]



-Daily Express, London.

[French Cartoon]

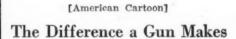
Putting His Foot On It "It Certainly Doesn't Fit Me"



-Le Pêle-Mêle, Paris.

[French Cartoon]

Demobilized





-Chicago Tribune.



-Forain in L'Avenir, Paris. "What did you think about mostly when you wore that on your head?"
"About you!"